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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE BIBLE

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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE BIBLE

By

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TO MY WIFE

Grace Tyler Wallis

WHOSE SYMPATHY AND HELP HAVE BEEN

A CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT

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PREFATORY

This book is an evolutionary study of Christendom. Although it largely takes the form of research into ancient history, it is in substance an inquiry into vital questions of today. Owing to the recent separation of Church and State, there is a tendency to take for granted that religion deals only with matters of belief about things that have no concern for "practical" persons, or that it relates only to private, individual affairs. Hence the need for pointing out that the vital religious ideas of Christian society took shape in response to a social pressure as tremendous and compelling as that in which we live today.

The present social revival of the church is part of a wider awakening which extends beyond the limits of religious institutions, and which has already put its deep mark on the age. Although every period of history has its own difficulties, there are times in which the social problem bids for attention more acutely and insistently than at others; and the present seems to be such a time. The purpose of this book is to state, as clearly and simply as possible, the relation of the Bible to the social problem. The title *Sociological Study of the Bible* seems to carry much of its own explanation with it. But the term "sociology" is a new one; and some prefatory statement of the general drift of the treatise will therefore be of more than usual assistance to the reader.

In the first place, this book takes the standpoint of what is called "pure science." It seeks to know the historical facts of the subject before it, and to interpret these facts in their actual, historical connections. Such being the case, it is necessary to enter upon our theme in view of what has already

been accomplished by investigators in several departments of research.

Modern scientific study has been slowly approaching a time in which new disclosures of the connection between religious thought and secular experience are possible. The necessary division of scientific research into special departments, and the consequent slowness of co-operation among specialists, have delayed the full appreciation of scientific results among scholars themselves, and have made it practically impossible for the intelligent public to share in some of the most fruitful achievements of modern scholarship.

In no lines of scientific research is this more true than in the case of the investigations whose results come together in the sociological study of the Bible, or, as we have sometimes called it, biblical sociology. Hitherto, scientific investigators of the Bible have not occupied the technical standpoint of "pure sociology"; nor have sociologists been familiar with the scientific approach to the Bible. It is, therefore, no matter for wonder that the public has been excluded from territories which are now opening to the layman.

The view of the Bible taken by our ancestors a few generations ago differed greatly from the view toward which the professional scholarship of the modern world has been moving in the last hundred years or so. During the Middle Ages, and up to the opening of the nineteenth century, it was the universal belief of the Christian church that the Bible was the product of a mechanical sort of inspiration which left little or nothing of essential importance for the human writers of it to do. In the same way, it was believed that the *religion* of the Bible came into the world by a sudden stroke of power, in a purely miraculous and quite supernatural manner. These views were formed at a time when the prevailing ideas about human history, and about the earth on which we live, and about the universe at large, were much different from the ideas that now

reign supreme in all well-informed circles. The progress of scientific research has gradually and unobtrusively changed the vast body of belief that characterized the Middle Ages. The earth was formerly thought to be a solid structure fixed at the center of the universe, with a lighting system, specially designed for the needs of our planet, consisting of sun, moon, and stars. But the world in which we live is now revealed as a floating speck in a cosmos that staggers the greatest intellect. The disclosure of this fact is one of a series of brilliant scientific discoveries in relation to such matters as the geologic formation and age of the world, the vast length and the evolutionary character of human history, man's place in nature, and other subjects of equally vital importance.

The rising tide of discovery brought with it a slowly mounting scientific interest in the Bible and its religion. The truth forced itself into the minds of careful investigators that the Bible was *compiled* from other books far more ancient than the Scriptures. It became clear that the books now standing first in the sacred library were among the latest to be composed, while other books, which had been hitherto supposed to be of late composition, were among the earliest written. The old formula, "The Law and the Prophets," was reversed, so as to read "The Prophets and the Law." It was discovered that the prophets were chiefly preachers to their own times; that they were but little concerned with predicting future events; and that it was largely through their efforts that the religion of the Hebrews was purified from its original heathen, or pagan, elements. The new movement in biblical research took shape among French, German, and English investigators, and at last came to a focus around the brilliant work by Professor Wellhausen, of the University of Marburg, entitled *Geschichte Israels*, published in the year 1878. In that masterly work, the new literary and historical study of the Bible was formulated and extended in such a way as to command the attention

and assent of learned specialists; and it produced a revolution. It has been well said by Professor Kuenen, one of the leaders of the Dutch critical school, that the publication of Wellhausen's *Geschichte* was the climax of a long campaign for scientific study of the Bible.[1]

The progress of scientific research and discovery in all departments of investigation was naturally opposed by the constituted authorities in Church and State. Professors who showed heretical symptoms in their opinions about astronomy, geology, history, or the Bible were dismissed from their chairs. But this policy advertised the new views; and as the various aspects of scientific inquiry were better understood, it became impossible to secure instructors who completely adhered to the older theories. As the public began to reap the benefits of scientific research, the truth was gradually perceived that the work of science cannot be indorsed at one point, or at a few points, without being encouraged everywhere. The nineteenth century beheld the culmination of scientific triumphs in the establishment of the right of untrammeled investigation of the Bible in institutions of learning.

The new view of the Bible is bound up with a new idea of Hebrew history and a new conception of the religious life of Israel. The religious experience of Israel is now seen to have been a rise toward a higher and purer faith, instead of a decline toward a lower one. The new views have largely displaced the older doctrines in all the leading universities and theological seminaries. They are held in various forms by different scholars; but there is a common basis of agreement which rapidly grows larger as the fundamental facts are better understood by professional minds.

The interested public, standing outside the academic world, is aware that great changes have taken place and are even now going on; but the real nature of the new scientific view of the

[1] Kuenen, *The Hexateuch* (London, 1886), Introduction, p. xxxix.

Bible, and the evidence upon which that view is based, are but little understood by the laity. The public as yet scarcely realizes the extent to which the evolutionary principle has been applied to the religion of Israel. Professional investigators, who have given the most and closest attention to the Bible, firmly believe that the idea of God by which ancient Israel finally came to be distinguished, is the result of a slow process of psychological, or spiritual, development, corresponding in some way to stages in the national history of the Hebrews. Professor George Adam Smith, now principal of the University of Aberdeen, spoke as follows, in a course of lectures delivered at Yale University, and reprinted under the title *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament:*

The god of early Israel was a tribal god; and His relation to His people is described in the same way as Israel's neighbors describe the relation of their gods to themselves. Israel looked to Jahweh [Yahweh[1]] as the Moabites looked to Chemosh. . . . . They prayed to Him to let them see their desire on their enemies, ascribed their victories to His love for them, their defeats to His anger, and they devoted to Him in slaughter their prisoners of war, and the animals they captured from their foes; all exactly as their Moabite neighbors are reported, in very much the same language, to have done to Chemosh, the god of Moab. Moreover, they regarded the power of Jahweh as limited to their own territory, and his worship as invalid beyond it (I Sam. 26:19 [in the Hebrew and modern Revised Versions]). Though, like all Semites, they felt their

[1] The name "Jehovah" was never known to the ancient Hebrews. "Yahweh" is perhaps as near as we can come to the original usage. Thus, the word "hallelujah" means, "praise Yah," the *j* being pronounced like *y*. Sometimes the name was abbreviated, as in Ps. 68:4: "His name is YAH." It appears repeatedly as a syllable in the names of Hebrew persons, as Isaiah, Elijah, Jeremiah, Hezekiah, etc. The Hebrew manuscripts originally contained the name in the form of the Sacred Tetragrammaton, Y-H-W-H, יהוה. But this gives us only the consonants; not the vowels. The Tetragrammaton occurs about six thousand eight hundred times in the Bible. It is usually represented in the King James Version by "the LORD," or "GOD" in capitals and small capitals; and rarely, as "Jehovah." The American Revised Version, however, takes us one step closer to the Hebrew by abandoning this usage, and printing "Jehovah" whenever the Tetragrammaton occurs in the Hebrew.

We make use of the form "Yahweh" in accordance with the practice now established in modern scientific treatises.

duty to one God as the supreme Lord of themselves, they did not deny the reality of other gods.[1]

The foregoing passage relates only to the historical, objective aspects of the Hebrew situation. The same writer states his theological view of the subject as follows:

> Behind that national deity of Israel, and through the obscure and vain imaginations the early nation had of him, there were present the Character and Will of God himself, using the people's low thoughts and symbols to express himself to them, lifting them always a little higher, and finally making himself known as he did through the prophets as the God of the Whole Earth, identical with righteousness and abounding in mercy.[2]

This view is the belief and faith of a devout scholar; and it represents the attitude of by far the large majority of those who have approached the problem of the Bible in a scientific way. As a rule, the modern biblical investigator holds that the religion of the Hebrews began on the level of what we commonly call "paganism," or "heathenism." He believes that "Yahweh," the national deity of Israel, was at first regarded as a local god, one of a large number of divinities that populated the mind of the ancient world; that the people's thought about him slowly rose to the height at which we find it in the great prophets and in Jesus; and that this religious evolution was a process guided and controlled by the one true God of the universe, who was gradually raising men's thoughts upward through the medium of their daily experiences. Thus, while the devout scholar does not identify "Yahweh" with the true God, he believes that the true God was using the *idea* of Yahweh in such a way as to cause that idea more and more to take the character of a worthy symbol of religion. This theological position, as a matter of fact, puts far less strain on the modern intellect than does the older orthodoxy, and makes

[1] G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament* (New York, 1901), pp. 128, 129.

[2] *Biblical World* (Chicago, August, 1896), pp. 100, 101.

it possible for men to remain within the church who would otherwise be outside of it. The reverent scholar believes that God uses the history of Israel, and the history of the world, for an ineffable, divine purpose which works out slowly across the ages. He sees that the human spirit works its purpose within the terms of those natural "laws" of physiology, chemistry, and political economy which condition the bodily and social existence of mankind; and he believes that the universe expresses God's personality in the same way that a human life gives expression to human personality.

While it is but just and proper to speak here of the religious and theological beliefs that characterize the body of modern biblical critics, it should be said again that this book is a purely scientific study of the Bible, which undertakes to state the connections between the various facts of Hebrew history and religion. The limitations of our method forbid us to discuss the inner, metaphysical, or theological aspect of the facts. We take for granted that Bible students "must acquire the art of historical construction by which . . . . they may . . . . reproduce the history of Israel's religious experience, from those early days when Jehovah [Yahweh] was a tribal God who went out to battle against the gods of other desert tribes."[1] Although the subject may be approached from a variety of standpoints, the plan of this investigation confines our study to one point of view.

Having indicated the road over which biblical investigators are traveling, it is now in order to emphasize that they have not yet reached their destination. This is admitted by the leading exponents of modern biblical research and interpretation. The central feature of the entire problem is, of course, the development of the Yahweh religion. We can see very plainly that the idea of Yahweh in the *earlier* Old Testament documents is different from what it is in the later documents.

[1] Editorial, *Biblical World* (Chicago, April, 1911), p. 221.

What is the explanation of this difference? How is the religious evolution before us to be understood? In what terms are we to describe it? Professor Wellhausen himself has lately said that we cannot tell why Yahweh of Israel, rather than the god Chemosh of Moab, on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, evolved into the righteous God of the universe.[1] President Francis Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, has recently written that the problem of the differentiation of the later Yahweh from the earlier Yahweh, as well as from the gods of other nations, has not been solved.[2] Professor Cook, of the University of Cambridge, writes in a more general way as follows:

> While practically all students of the Old Testament agree that a thoroughgoing traditional standpoint is untenable, opinion differs as to the extent to which the results of modern criticism are really assured. The great majority of scholars, however, accept the Wellhausen literary theory, but they differ in regard to its application to the early development of Israel. External evidence, alone, clearly guarantees neither accuracy of inference nor convergence of results, and since Old Testament research is bound not to remain stationary, the conflicting and complex tendencies inspire the belief that the present stage is a transitory one.[3]

To the same effect, Professor Sanday, of Oxford University, says:

> The fashioning of the methods by which the secret of the Old Testament is to be approached and elicited has taken many centuries. We are not yet agreed about it; but I do not think that it is being too sanguine to feel that we are drawing nearer to it.[4]

In a treatise on the history of Bible-study, Professor George H. Gilbert also speaks of the "partial and imperfect dawn of a

[1] Wellhausen, "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion," in *Kultur der Gegenwart* (Berlin 1909), Teil I, 15.

[2] *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Honor of William Rainey Harper* (Chicago, 1908), p. xxx.

[3] *Essays on Some Biblical Questions by Members of the University of Cambridge* (London, 1909), p. 54.

[4] Sanday, *The Oracles of God* (London, 1891), p. 120.

new era of interpretation."[1] This general attitude, we believe, is that of all candid biblical investigators whose method and standpoint are those of the prevailing school of scientific research. We have compared the modern school to travelers who have not reached their destination; but another figure may also be employed. The scientific view of the Bible is like a house in process of construction. Most opponents of the evolutionary view of Israel's religion make the tactical mistake of assuming that the house is completed; and they criticize it on the basis of that assumption. But while some of the second-hand popularizers of the modern view have committed the same error, no reliable, first-hand authority has ever said anything of the kind; and the attitude of responsible scholarship has always been to the effect of the testimony quoted above. The "house" is in process of construction.[2]

These frank admissions by scientific investigators of the Bible are to be held sharply in mind when examining the opinions of the modern school respecting the development of Hebrew religion. As the result of an inquiry whose details need not be given here, it may be fairly said that such opinions find an average in the proposition that the religious development of Israel is to be explained by the "genius of the great prophets." This way of stating the case is varied by saying

[1] Gilbert, *History of the Interpretation of the Bible* (New York, 1908), pp. 291, 292. Cf. Jordan, *Comparative Religion* (New York, 1905), p. 491.

[2] The assumption that the modern view is a finished system is one of the mistakes that vitiate the recent volume entitled *The Problem of the Old Testament*, by Professor James Orr, of the United Free Church College, of Glasgow. While making concessions to the modern school, Professor Orr speaks on behalf of traditionalism. It has been observed with what appears to be great probability, that Orr's work shows signs of having been written many years ago, soon after the publication of Wellhausen's *Geschichte*, and then retouched here and there. If this deduction is correct, it goes a long way toward explaining the general atmosphere of Professor Orr's book. If it were not composed soon after the publication of Wellhausen's treatise, its author's views were certainly formed at that time, and then taken many years later, by unsuspecting persons, as the "latest conclusions," etc. The present writer has discussed certain phases of Professor Orr's work in a paper in the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago, April, 1908), pp. 241–49.

that the creative influence of the prophets is due to "their peculiar experience of God." It is not probable that scholars will continue to state their opinions in this form as the scientific interpretation of the Bible proceeds into stages of greater maturity. It is only with feelings of respect for the modern school, and of gratitude for its indispensable service to the cause of scientific learning, that the writer ventures the opinion that this view of Israel's religious evolution belongs in the realm of theology and metaphysics only, and that it has no standing as a matter of science and history.

Modern scientific investigation of the Bible, after all, is only a special application of methods already employed in examining the literature and history of the world's great nations. Scientific biblical research, therefore, is not a thing in a corner. It is answerable to the progress of method in the study of all human history. The "historical method" took its rise among the ancient Greeks, who were the first to achieve emancipation from the reign of mythology. The beginnings of the process are described by Professor Bury, of Cambridge University, in his Harvard lectures on the ancient Greek historians:

> Long before history, in the proper sense of the word, came to be written, the early Greeks possessed a literature which was equivalent to history for them, and was accepted with unreserved credence—their epic poems. . . . . The age of the heroes, as described in the epics, was marked by divine interventions, frequent intercourse between gods and men, startling metamorphoses, and all kinds of miracles. . . . . Every self-respecting city sought to connect itself, through its ancient clans, with the Homeric heroes, and this constituted the highest title to prestige in the Greek world. . . . .
>
> One of the most serious impediments blocking the way to a scientific examination of early Greece [by the Greek historians themselves] was the orthodox belief in Homer's omniscience and infallibility—a belief which survived the attacks of the Ionian philosophers and the irony of Thucydides. Eratosthenes boldly asserted the principle that the critic, in studying Homer, must remember that the poet's knowledge was limited

by the conditions of his age, which was a comparatively ignorant age. . . . .

The Greeks did not suddenly create, but rather by a gradual process of criticism evolved history, disengaging it from the mythic envelope in which fact and fiction were originally blended. . . . .

In his Introduction Thucydides announces a new conception of historical writing. . . . . He saw, as we see, that the mythical element pervaded Herodotus (of whom, evidently, he was chiefly thinking) no less than Homer. His own experience in ascertaining *contemporary* facts taught him, as nothing else could do, how soon and how easily events are wont to pass into the borders of myth. . . . .

If the Greeks had possessed records extending over the history of two or three thousand years, the conception of causal development would probably have emerged, and they might have founded scientific history. The limitation of their knowledge of the past to a few centuries disabled them from evolving this idea.[1]

The process begun by the ancient Greeks was adjourned throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, and then taken up by modern historical scholars. One of the leading investigators of the problem of history was the great German scholar Niebuhr, who reconstructed ancient Roman history. As Niebuhr said, "many of the narratives in the earliest history of Rome betray their fabulous nature by the contradictions and impossibilities they involve."[2] All nations have confidently held certain beliefs about their early history, which the scientific scholar is bound to challenge. For example, the Romans believed that their government was connected with Romulus and Remus, two sons of Mars, the god of war. These brothers were born of a virgin. When they reached manhood, there was a dispute as to which of them should have the honor of naming the city. The controversy was terminated by the victory of Romulus, who had the larger number of adherents. The city was named after him; and he became king. When the time of his death arrived, the light of the sun was veiled;

[1] Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1909), pp. 2, 10, 2, 189, 240, 81, 258.

[2] Niebuhr, *History of Rome* (New York, 1826), Vol. I, p. 603.

and while the earth was plunged in shade, the king's father, Mars, descended in a whirlwind and carried his son to heaven in a chariot of fire. Later, the spirit of the glorified hero appeared to one of the Roman nobles with the message that he would watch over the fortunes of Rome in the form of a god. For many centuries, this mythology was a matter of literal and serious belief among the Roman people. Its affinity with the Homeric tales of early Greece is so close and obvious as to require no comment.

The earliest way of treating history, then, consists in accepting uncritically all traditions that come down from the past, and weaving these traditions together into a connected narrative. The mythological part of tradition may relate to "the gods," or it may turn around actual historical characters, such as David, Charlemagne, Alfred, Napoleon, or Washington. But the frame of mind which leads to the uncritical acceptance of all tradition is fundamentally the same, and has been well described by Niebuhr as "the prostration of the understanding and judgment." Whoever would really *know* human history, and understand the social problem now pressing upon us for solution, must reckon with the important fact of mythology. It was the perception of this principle with more or less vividness that led the ancient Greek historians to lay the foundations of the critical, historical method. The realization of the same truth in a fuller degree has been a factor of high importance in the modern progress of historical science. Thus, opposition to the historical method necessarily carries one back toward mythology. To oppose criticism is to be uncritical.

The scientific historian, first of all, seeks to ascertain "facts." He does not at first undertake to interpret facts. He simply tries to lay bare what may be called "the raw material of history." This fundamental inquiry is dealt with by analyzing the evidence that bears upon the situation. The Greeks, as Professor Bury says, evolved history by "disengaging it from

its mythic envelope" (*supra*). The primary work of the scientific investigator of history, then, is to draw the distinction between myths and facts. On the one side, he accumulates a mass of real or supposed myths; and on the other side, he gathers a mass of real or supposed facts. The myths are not cast into the limbo of mere curiosities. They are held aside for later study and interpretation. As a rule, they are not mere idle tales; and they teach positive lessons about history even when they are not accepted as literally true.

After facts have been separated from their mythic envelope, the demands upon the historian become different. There now emerges the leading question, What are the *connections* between the facts? How are the facts related to each other? How is history to be controlled and interpreted? In other words, after the historian has taken his material apart (analysis), he is called upon to put it together (synthesis). The most fruitful treatment of history from the synthetic point of view has been made only in modern times, and within the last few generations. The history of the civilized world has been carefully investigated and rewritten; and there has also appeared a crowd of "historical sciences" dealing with various phases, or aspects, of history—political, religious, moral, domestic, economic, legal, etc.

But the modern writing of history has not exhausted the possibilities of the subject. The consideration that now forces itself into view is the fact that all historical specialists are working, from different points of approach, upon the same subject, the problem of organized human life. The full meaning of this fact, however, is not calculated to break upon the mind at a single stroke. The political historian, for instance, is engaged upon facts which may also be treated from other standpoints by the economist or the moralist. The various phases, or aspects, of history cannot be held apart as independent series of facts. No single one of these disciplines, or

sciences, can treat its problems without leaving its territory and appealing to facts that confessedly stand outside of its purview. Hence, the special historical or social sciences are *abstractions* (matters abstracted, or taken away) from the concrete sum total of human life. Thus, politics, economics, morals, religion, etc., investigate the same human life which is found in all the special facts. So that if human history is ever to be really known and explained it must be treated as an "organic whole."

Now, the investigation and description of the connecting principles of history has taken to itself the term "sociology"—the word about society, or the logic of society. Probably there will never be a large number of investigators devoted entirely to the work of pure sociology; but the sociological standpoint is gradually becoming more and more common to all scientific workers in the field of history. Sociology was formerly regarded in some quarters as a campaign to crowd aside the economist, the political scientist, the moralist, and all other scholars, and organize their materials into a new philosophy which was to take the place of the disciplines already established. While some overzealous writers may have conveyed such an impression, nothing could be farther from the aims of responsible workers in this line of research. The aim of scientific sociology is to help specialists in all fields of historico-social investigation to work more consciously in view of their common subject-matter—human life as a whole. Specialists are always in danger of devitalizing their material by treating it abstractly; and in the degree that they realize the interconnection of their studies, they will co-operate efficiently in expounding the problems of human life.

Sociology approaches history from the standpoint of the evolution of the "social group." Here, again, the full meaning of the statement is not at once clear. "The idea of the group

as a means of interpretation is emerging more clearly," writes President George E. Vincent, of the University of Minnesota. "Society is too vague and abstract a concept. It is useful for symbolic purposes and for generalized description, but to have any vividness of meaning it must be translated into more concrete terms."[1] Human history is not concerned with the doings of isolated individuals, who, like Robinson Crusoe, live apart by themselves. It relates to the evolution of organized groups, or communities. The different historical disciplines, or social sciences, approach the mechanism of society from a number of standpoints. Thus, while economics, politics, ethics, ecclesiastics, etc., are engaged upon the study of social groups, they treat the matter from different angles. Economics considers the industrial phase of group-life; politics, the governmental forms and activities of the group; ethics, the moral standards; ecclesiastics, the religious ideas and institutions; and so on. Sociology attempts to describe the structure and life of social mechanisms, and thus to give a point of departure for all special studies in history and the social problem. History is the biography of human society; and if it is to be explained in a scientific way, it must be treated as an "organic whole." Sociology attempts to correlate the essential facts and forces of life in a single perspective.

The meaning of sociology, however, is best indicated, not by the multiplication of general statements, but by an appeal to some concrete, practical human interest. This book illustrates the standpoint of modern sociology in reference to the "religious" interest. Its view is that the still unfinished historical interpretation of the Bible can be completed only in terms of sociology. It is written in the belief that the division of scientific scholarship into "departments" has delayed the full appreciation and use of scientific results among scholars them-

[1] *American Journal of Sociology* (Chicago, January, 1911), p. 469.

selves; and its form is due to the conviction that the intelligent public may now be taken more fully into the field of biblical and sociological study.

It has perhaps already become clear that the book is an examination of Hebrew history in relation to the idea of God. The older view of the Bible and its religion did not suppose that the history of the Hebrew people had anything to do with shaping, or "causing," the religious ideas peculiar to Israel; and the thought of such a connection is even yet a novelty to most readers of the Bible. But it should be observed at once that the old view of the nature and origin of Hebrew religion is bound up with a view of Hebrew *history* which has been discredited in all the foremost institutions of learning. According to the old view, the nation called "Israel" consisted of the descendants of a single race, or family. It was organized at a single stroke, in the wilderness of Arabia. Taking the form of a mighty army, under the generalship of a single commander, the militant nation attacked the land of Canaan, drove out the "Amorites," and then divided the entire land by lot among the different clans or tribes which constituted the invading army. This view is based on the first six books of the Old Testament known as the *Hexateuch*, which comprise the titles from Genesis through Joshua. The traditional view stated in a "sociological" way, then, is that the group-organization of the Hebrews was determined and fixed by law at the very beginning of the national history, and was not the result of development.

But modern historical investigation has demonstrated that the Hexateuch in its present form is a very late product of Hebrew life; that it was unknown to the Hebrews throughout the larger part of their time of residence in Palestine; and that the conception of the national history which has just been cited is impossible. We can state only the facts in this place leaving the study of details and evidence to the formal part of our treatise. The books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings are

older than the Hexateuch; and the story which they tell about the origin of the Hebrew nation departs conspicuously from that of the narratives embodied in the first six books of the Old Testament. According to these older documents, the land of Canaan was invaded, not by a "nation" organized as a grand army under one general, but by a number of independent clans which had no common organization. These clans, coming in from the desert, merely succeeded in planting themselves here and there in the highlands of Judah, Ephraim, and Gilead. They did not drive out nor annihilate the Amorites; but the previous inhabitants remained in possession of a long list of walled cities, most of which were in the lowlands. *The Hebrew nation, as known to history, arose at the point of coalescence between the incoming Israelite clans and the Amorite city-states already established in Canaan.* The Amorite cities remained for a time independent (throughout the period of the Judges and the reign of King Saul); but under the House of David, the earlier inhabitants became assimilated with the Israelite monarchy, and lost their racial identity. During the long period between the original invasion and the great Babylonian captivity, the Hebrew people and their kings did not observe the law of the national constitution recorded in the Hexateuch; and this law was finally brought forward in its completed form, and adopted after the Captivity, by the "Jews," a remnant of the old Hebrew people.

This general view is novel to the layman; but it is a commonplace to the scholar who is in possession of the results of scientific investigation of the Bible. The origin of the Hebrew nation at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites has been often pointed out by critical historians; but while the fact is known to all scientific students of the Bible, its vital and intimate connection with the problem of Hebrew religion has not been worked out. This is due, not to the lack of "evidence," but to the fact that biblical scholarship, as a

whole, has not yet made the standpoint of modern sociology its own.[1] The technique of the study undertaken in this book may be stated here in a brief, introductory form.

A great struggle arose between the standpoints of the two races that united in the development of the Hebrew nation. In the long run, the two sides of the struggle came to be symbolized by the terms "Yahweh" and "Baal," which indicate the gods of the races that combined in the national group. By one and the same process, the national deity Yahweh became identified with warfare against "other gods" and warfare against "injustice." Although the process was a very gradual one, reaching its issue only by slow stages, the *logic* of the final result was present in the situation from the time the Israelites and Amorites combined in the same group. Like a spirit of invisible fate, this logic tormented and pursued the prophets, until at last the local Baal-worship, derived from the Amorites, became the means whereby the Hebrew religion was detached from polytheism and injustice. This peculiar development of religion took place *within the terms* of the Hebrew group-evolution, which, as we shall presently see, was unlike that of any other ancient people.

The Amorites, who were already planted in the land, had no national government and no national religion. They consisted of independent city-states, each of which worshiped its own god, or "Baal." These Baals were identified with the social standpoint and economic ideas of settled civilization. They were the divine "masters," or "owners," of the Amorite people; and the leading men of the upper social class were likewise called "baals," because they were the human owners of the Amorite people. The common man was looked upon with

[1] In the case of many individual scholars, however, the study of the Bible is already moving on from the literary and historical stages into a sociological form. We do not seek to create the impression that present-day biblical science is any more backward in its tendencies than other existing scientific disciplines. The adoption of the modern view of Hebrew history by biblical scholars is the proof of this.

scant respect all through ancient civilization (but not among the nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples of the wilderness). As a rule, to which there were few exceptions, most of the inhabitants in the settled countries were in the grip of some kind of slavery; while a small, upper class used all the machinery of government and religion to make their grip firmer. The ruling force of ancient civilization was against the modern ideal of popular government. Society was defended from barbarism by a paid police; while the enslaved peasant was treated as a base of military supplies. This theory of life held sway among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Amorites, and other settled peoples.[1]

On the contrary, the ideas and usages of all unsettled races take a different form. The integrity of a wandering clan depends upon the good treatment of its individual members. Hence, the idea of "brotherhood" stands in the forefront of the social consciousness of migratory, unsettled races. While ancient civilization holds manhood at a discount, the nomadic barbarian takes manhood at its par value. Examples are the Germanic tribes in ancient Europe, the American Indians, the Australian tribes, the clans of Arabia, and other unsettled peoples. Now, the Israelites, prior to the invasion of Canaan, were a migratory people, broken up into small clans. Their economic and social standpoint was expressed in their customary usage, or law, known as *mishpat*. This word is translated in our English Bibles as "justice," "judgment," "that which is lawful," etc. But in one passage, the Hebrew term is represented in modern letters as the name of a fountain, or spring, in the southern wilderness: "En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh)."[2] This was the "Well of Justice," where the legal

[1] As we shall see in the course of our study, this theory stood for the necessity of the situation. The great civilizations that have generated and built up the progress of history were constantly open to the attacks of barbarians; and the imperialistic form of society was a defensive measure. Nevertheless, it was hard on the masses of the people.

[2] Gen. 14:7.

usages of the wilderness clans were declared in the name of Yahweh; and the word "Kadesh," meaning "holy," indicates that it was a sanctuary.

The rise of the Hebrew nation at the point of coalescence between Amorites and Israelites brought the social standpoints of ancient civilization and the primitive clan into sharp conflict. A great struggle was precipitated over the subject of *mishpat*. "What are good law and good morals?" The conflict ultimately came to a center about the question whether Yahweh should be worshiped in the character of a "civilized" Baal, who countenanced the usages of civilization and who was distinguished from other gods only by his might and power, or whether he should be worshiped in his original character as a god of the clan *mishpat*. The more Israelite section of the people (the highlanders) contended for the humane view taken by the wilderness folk; and their standpoint was voiced by the great "insurgent" prophets, most of whom came from small places in the open country. But the more Amorite part of the nation contended for the "civilized" view, with its disregard of the common man; and their standpoint was voiced by the "regular" prophets, who were connected with the wealthy nobility. The *mishpat* struggle commenced in a very confused way, taking the form of revolt against the kings. But later it assumed a more distinctly religious form when one of the kings, who had imported the Baal-worship of the wealthy Phoenicians, took away the land of a humble peasant by force. The great prophet Elijah now came forward, from the highlands of Gilead, in defense of the old Israelite law and morals for which the worship of Yahweh had stood in the wilderness days. This great prophet opposed the worship of the foreign Baal, which was in time thrust out by a violent and bloody revolution. The social problem, however, was not settled by such means; and the later prophets learned that it was necessary to struggle not only against the Baal-worship imported from foreign parts,

but to fight the native Baalism which the Hebrew nation had inherited from the Amorite side of its ancestry. The struggle between Yahwism and Baalism was vastly more than a mere conflict over the question whether the Hebrews should bow down to this or that god. It was the form in which the great underlying moral and economic struggle of classes came to the surface of history.

There have been moral aspiration and endeavor among every people under the sun. There have been struggles between rich and poor in all nations. The Hebrews had no patent on ethics, and no monopoly of economic agitation. But the struggle which at last came to a burning focus around Yahwism and Baalism was the religious expression of the unique political development of the Hebrews. The peculiarity of the entire Old Testament situation, then, lay not in its moral and economic aspects, but in the uncommon political development of society. This is not at first clear to those who have not completely assimilated the sociological point of view. The secret lies in the close connection between Church and State, Religion and Politics, throughout the ancient world. While other nations have had economic and moral struggles, no national development has ever taken *exactly* the same political form as that of Israel.

This is made clear by the use of a number of illustrations. The Israelite conquest of Canaan may be compared with the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, the Hyksos conquest of Egypt, or, to come nearer home, the Norman conquest of England. The Normans, the Kassites, and the Hyksos, when going into the lands they conquered, found national group-organizations *already formed.* But in the case of the Hebrews, on the contrary, the previous inhabitants of the land had no general government. The Amorites were broken up into city-states, or provincial bodies. And it was the invading Israelites who eventually supplied the *framework of national government and*

religion. The Hebrew kingdom began in the time of Saul, as a movement among the Israelite highlanders. The older, Amorite population of the land was at length incorporated in the monarchy under the House of David; and the god Yahweh became the national deity of the entire group. In this way, a divinity of the wilderness and the hills was introduced with comparative abruptness to an ancient civilized people. Although the Amorites mingled their blood with the newcomers', took the name of Israel, and lost their identity as a race, the Amorite standpoint and the Amorite Baals remained as powerful factors in the life of the Hebrew nation. Here, for the first time in history, we encounter a nation in which the struggle of classes takes the form of a consistent warfare between the gods of the nation itself. The Amorite Baals became the dark villains of a tremendous moral drama; while Yahweh became the Mighty Hero of a long struggle against "the iniquity of the Amorite," and then at last the Redeemer of the World. The religion of the Bible is, in truth, a new thing. The political variation of Hebrew history from that of other peoples generated a new "variety" of religion. The contact between the cult of the wilderness and the cult of civilization produced a "cross-fertilization of culture" which led to the birth of a unique religion. A new body of spiritual thought was born which avoided the religious evils of civilization and nomadism, and combined their virtues. As already observed, the "substance" of Hebrew history was like that of other nations; but its "form" opened a new channel for the working of the human mind, suggesting thoughts that had never before flashed through the brain of man. The imagination of Israel's prophets took fire, and blazed up in a great spiritual flame that has pierced through the ages and illuminated the history of the world. These considerations, together with the evidence on which they rest and their bearing on present-day problems, will occupy us in our sociological study of the Bible.

The book is practically a general thesis on the religious phase of civilization, approaching the development of human society from the standpoint of religious interests. It aims to show that the Bible may be taken as a point of departure for investigation of the entire process of social evolution. It contends that the Bible is not a strange thing, let down into human history from regions lying outside the pale of common interests. It views the Bible as an organic item of human life, identified in its nature and purpose with the Reality that underlies the history of the world. Accordingly, the book is an inductive work, based not only on a direct study of the Bible itself, but on the examination of evidence lying outside the field usually regarded as "Bible-study." Sociological study of the Bible is interested not only in the process by which the religion of the Bible was born; it is interested in the social circumstances under which that religion propagated itself onward in ancient, mediaeval, and modern history; and it is also concerned with the social aspect under which the religion of the Bible exists in the world now. The facts of religious experience are best appreciated when the religious phase of civilization is viewed as one process. Setting out from this principle, we cannot limit the sociological study of the Bible to the age that produced the Bible. Only when the Scriptures are viewed in the light of general history can a study like the present be made to yield the largest benefit.

It is believed that the book will be chiefly serviceable in two ways: First, by cultivating a scientific outlook upon the social problem in ancient history, it aims to encourage a similar attitude with reference to the social problem now pressing upon us. As the student "observes the evolution of political and social life in Bible times and sees the consequent evolution of moral and religious ideals, it becomes perfectly natural for him to employ in the attempt to understand the life of his own day and generation those very principles which have proved to be

fruitful in the understanding of the Bible. He is thus prepared in spirit to make a positive and efficient use of the help which social science and history furnish in the analysis and solution of our own moral problems."[1]

The other way in which the sociological study of the Bible should be of service lies in demonstrating that the church organization of today should not identify itself with political and economic programs. The present awakening of religious people to the social side of religion brings with it a real peril. The reaction from the former one-sided emphasis upon "individualism," and "personal wrongdoing," seems to be taking us over toward the opposite extreme. More and more we hear it said that the church machinery should put itself behind projects of social reform—such as liquor legislation, child-labor laws, unionism, socialism, etc. If the church should lend itself to social reform, it would have to take up some definite position with regard to politics and economics. But men have always differed about politics; and if this view of church life prevails, those who do not favor the particular program adopted by their church cannot support the organization; and this would convert the church into a political party. Our chief guide here must be the testimony of experience. The witness of history is in favor of the complete separation of Church and State. The Church may be compared to a great electric dynamo. The function of a dynamo is to "generate energy," and convert "power" into a useful form. Any proposition that seeks to turn the Church away from its function as a generator of moral and spiritual energy looks back to the troublous times when religion was a political issue.

Two books, dealing with special aspects of our main theme, have been published by the author of this work. The book now issued considers the problem in a general and systematic way. It is a recasting of a number of papers which have

[1] Editorial, *The Biblical World* (Chicago), October, 1909, p. 222.

appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* at various times during the last ten years. The material has also been worked over in lecture courses at the Ohio State University; the Plymouth Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio; the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio; the Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, Illinois; and in a private correspondence course given to students in the United States and other countries.

The material has been examined, in one form or another, by several persons to whom the writer is under various obligations. If any of these are not included in the list that follows, the omission is unintentional: Professor William F. Badè, of the Pacific Theological Seminary; Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College; Professor George R. Berry, of Colgate University; Professor Walter R. Betteridge, of Rochester Theological Seminary; Professor Charles Rufus Brown, of the Newton Theological Institution; Professor Shirley J. Case, of the University of Chicago; Professor Arthur E. Davies, of the Ohio State University; Professor Winfred N. Donovan, of the Newton Theological Institution; Professor Henry T. Fowler, of Brown University; Rev. Allen H. Godbey, Ph.D., St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. Thomas W. Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago; Rev. Edward A. Henry, of the University of Chicago; Professor Albert E. Hetherington, of Columbian College; Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill, of the University of Chicago; Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago; Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University; Professor Lewis B. Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary; Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago; Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin; Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University; Professor Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago; Professor Henry Preserved Smith, of the Meadville Theological School; Professor John M. P. Smith, of the University of Chicago;

Professor Martin Sprengling, of Northwestern College; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Harvard University; Professor Lester F. Ward, of Brown University.

Special acknowledgment should be made of the assistance given by Professor Albion W. Small, Head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Professor Small's interest in the relation between sociology and religion is of long standing. The problem began to engage his attention at the time when the names of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, and others were coming into prominence in the application of historical criticism to the Bible. As far back as 1894, he published the following statement of the genetic relationship between sociology and criticism: "Sociology is in part a product of the critical method which has become standard in historical investigation since Niebuhr's reconstruction of Roman History."[1] His view is, that the historical criticism of the Bible must inevitably take sociological form. In 1905 he said: "Every one of us was taught to believe that certain representatives of the Hebrew race had different means of communicating with God from those that are available today. We consequently accepted a version of Hebrew history which made out of it a fantastic tradition that only began to take on the semblance of reality within the recollection of living men."[2] At the same time, in referring to the psychology of ethics and religion, he wrote: "Sociology will at last contribute in its own way to these subjects."[3] Again, writing in 1910, he said: "I do not think that social science can ever be a substitute for religion. It is getting plainer and plainer, however, that social science . . . . is the only rational body for religion."[4] Professor Small's view of this problem has been formed as the

[1] Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society* (New York, 1894), p. 45.

[2] Small, *General Sociology* (Chicago, 1905), p. 483.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

[4] Small, *The Meaning of Social Science* (Chicago, 1910), p. 275.

result of investigations in general sociology, and not through special research in Hebrew history. We refer to him at some length here, not to claim his support for any of the special theses found in this book, but in order to exhibit the grounds on which he has actively promoted the undertaking which the book represents. His aid has been extended in ways too numerous for mention in this place.

With the above exception, it would be a matter of considerable embarrassment to single out other names from the foregoing list, however strong the temptation may be to do so. In each case, attention and criticism have been given as a matter of professional interest.

While the book is identical in substance with the papers published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, its present form is different from that of the magazine series.

Quotations from the Bible in this work follow the American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible (copyright 1901 by Thomas Nelson & Sons), which is used by permission. A few words are transliterated, such as "Yahweh," "*mishpat*," etc.; and other slight differences of usage will be evident upon comparison.

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Author's Note.—In response to inquiries, the author states that he is not at present an instructor in any educational institution, and that he does not speak as the representative of any organization.

PART I

PRELIMINARY VIEW OF THE BIBLE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The social awakening.—No demonstration is needed to prove that the world is in the midst of a great social awakening. The pressure of the "social problem" is felt in all departments of life. We meet it in business, in politics, in the home, in the school, and in the church. The awakening of the church to this issue is one of the most important signs of the times. The social side of religion has not always been emphasized as it is now. We are indeed only in the beginning of a new epoch of thought.[1]

The twofold outlook of Bible religion—individual and social.—The present awakening to the social problem brings the church into a new attitude with reference to the Bible. In earlier times, the chief emphasis of the church was placed upon the salvation of the individual; while the Bible itself has not only a personal outlook, but a social appeal as well. The importance of the situation disclosing itself in the religious life of today comes before us with great power as we study the essential nature of the religion around which the church is organized.

[1] The point of chief danger in the present social awakening of the church is not over-emphasis upon the social factor, but the tendency to compromise the church with programs of social reform. If the church should lend itself to social reform, it would be forced, necessarily, to take up some definite position with regard to politics and economics. But since men have always differed about politics, those who did not favor the program adopted by the church could not support the organization; and this would convert the church into a political party. Our chief guide here must be the testimony of experience. The witness of history is in favor of the separation of Church and State. The church may be compared to a great electric dynamo, whose function is to convert power into useful forms. Any proposal that seeks to turn the church away from its function as a moral and spiritual dynamo looks back toward the troublous times when Church and State were connected, and religious questions were political issues.

The personal, or private, appeal of the Bible religion is so familiar that we need not dwell on it in this connection: "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon" (Is. 55:7). The principle thus declared by the prophet is tested by the psalmist: "My sin I made known to thee; and mine iniquity I did not hide. I said, I will confess my transgression to the Lord. Then thou forgavest mine iniquity and my sin. Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven; whose sin is covered" (Ps. 32:5, 1). In dependence upon the Old Testament, the same principle is dramatized in the parable of the Prodigal Son, in which the wicked forsakes his way, returns to his father, and is forgiven (Luke 15:11–32). God is not only regarded as demanding righteousness and forgiving iniquity: he is also viewed as actively in partnership with man in the struggle against evil: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me" (Ps. 51:10).

On the other hand, the religion around which the church of today is organized makes just as positive an appeal to the social, or public, interest. A brief study makes the fact perfectly clear. Thus, in contrast with passages that have a distinctly individual bearing, we read, "Let justice roll down like waters" (Amos 5:24); "Rulers shall govern in justice" (Isa. 32:1); "Hear, I pray you, ye heads of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel, is it not for you to know justice?" (Mic. 3:1).

It may be said that these passages merely urge personal uprightness on the part of government officials in the same way that we now demand good men and righteous conduct in public office. But the reply to this is, that the Hebrew term translated "justice" will not bear a merely personal interpretation. This term is one of the great, outstanding

words of the Bible; and it conveys a wealth of meaning that is not apparent on the surface. In the passages quoted above, the King James Version renders "judgment," while the American Revised Version translates "justice." We find the Hebrew term itself spelled in English letters in Gen. 14:7, as follows: M-I-S-H-P-A-T.[1] The word *mishpat* occurs in the Bible in a great variety of connections, and is variously translated according to the shade of meaning. It is rendered not only by the words "justice" and "judgment," but also by "law," "legal right," "custom," "manner," "ordering," etc. It points to the *social arrangements*, or *institutions*, that bind people together in groups like the family, the clan, and the nation.

Accordingly, the command which is translated, "Let justice roll down like waters," means, in other words, "Let social arrangements be just. Let the government uphold the good laws and institutions of the forefathers." It is, indeed, a matter of abundant evidence that the Bible is very largely concerned with questions that pertain to the organization of the community, and which therefore stand outside the limits of personal and private affairs.

It is clear that earlier generations neglected a large and vital aspect of the Bible and its religion. We cannot pause here to discuss the reason for this fact. The shifting of attention from the individual to the social aspect of religion is ably described in the following words:

> Unquestionably the general conception entertained among our New England progenitors in the religious life was that of Christianity as an agency for individual rescue and salvation; and of the Church as the divinely appointed place of ingathering for souls brought home from a lost and ruined world.
>
> But just as plainly there has more recently risen in many minds the conception of Christianity as the savior of society, and of the

[1] In this passage, *En-mishpat* means "Fountain of justice," or "Fountain of judgment."

Church as one instrumentality among others in an enterprise for the general redemption of humanity. The thought ranges over a wide scale of development in different entertainers of the comparatively new conception. There are those who, while believing that the Gospel's hope lies in the regeneration of individual souls, recognize, nevertheless, the mighty influence of circumstances and environment in making this individual redemption more or less probable. . . . . To this end, they rejoice in whatever improves the physical and social conditions of the community. . . . . Others, who have travelled farther in this direction, seem to fasten about all hope for the Gospel's greater progress on a preliminary better adjustment of society; on better relationships between capital and labor; on a more equal division of property; on improved habits of living and increased facilities for education, holidays, and enjoyment. . . . . There is, as has been said, a considerable range of diversity in these positions. But the conception of the relationship of the Gospel to society, hitherto insufficiently recognized, has unquestionably got a hold on men's minds, and to some extent has affected and modified the character of preaching in almost all pulpits.[1]

The change of emphasis thus described is due, primarily, not to intellectual or spiritual or theoretical causes, but to the increasing pressure of the social problem. And since the religion of the Bible has the social character just noted, the social awakening of the church brings it into a new attitude with reference to the Bible. The conditions of religious life and thought are now in process of rapid change; and there is growing interest in Bible-study from the ethical and social standpoints. The new view of the Bible, which prevails at all the great centers of learning, is in harmony with the present social awakening in the religious world; whereas the older, traditional view of the Bible agrees equally with the former, one-sided emphasis upon individualism. It is a mistake to suppose that the new scholarship is a mere unsanctified campaign to discredit the Bible by pointing out where one passage fails to agree with another.

The negative side of the new scholarship is merely that

[1] Walker, *Religious Life of New England* (Boston, 1897), pp. 180–82.

which always goes along with a period of change; but on its positive and constructive side, it is working out a body of doctrine which gives admirable expression to the practical interests and strivings of the present age. We stand at the confluence of two great movements—the social awakening and the modern scientific interpretation of the Bible. These movements appear to be foreign to each other; yet they have a logical relation and meaning which will come into view as our study proceeds.

Bible religion identifies God with the principle of righteousness.—It is clear that whether we approach the Bible religion from the social or from the individual point of view, it connects God with the demands of morality. The supreme, controlling purpose of the Bible is very simple and practical. For it revolves around the purpose and plan of redemption, or salvation, from evil. The individual is to be redeemed from his own sin, while the world is to be redeemed from injustice.

Any interpretation of the Bible that fails to put heavy stress upon the moral aspect of its religion is bound to be one-sided and insufficient. The Bible is pre-eminently ethical. It does not make the slightest effort to "prove" the existence of God. It takes God for granted. Nowhere in the Bible is there to be found a scientific or philosophical argument for the existence of God. Nowhere in the Bible do we find the means of demonstrating the fact of a future life beyond the grave. The Bible makes God and immortality the subjects of faith; but it makes public and private righteousness matters of *practice*. Therefore the Bible is a practical book; and its religion is a practical religion.

Bible religion presents God as the Leading Actor in a divine drama of redemption.—"Men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts" (Ps. 145:6). Not only does the Bible identify God with the principle of morality; but it goes farther than this. The distinction of the Bible is not to be found in the

mere identification of God with the principle of righteousness. The one great, outstanding peculiarity of the Bible and its religion is to be found in the presentation of God as the Leading Actor of a long *story*, or *drama*, in which mankind is redeemed from evil. Many of the gods of antiquity were believed by their worshipers to be patrons of righteousness. Yet none of the religions of the ancient world, except that of the Bible, have survived in modern civilization.

It is here that the essential feature of the Bible religion is found. This religion has made its triumphant way in the world, not upon the basis of the creatorhood of God, or the doctrine of monotheism, or any other abstract notion whatsoever. It has gone from victory to victory on the basis of the moral saviorhood of God, and nothing else. All other ideas about God that we find in the Bible are present in other ancient religions and Bibles. But no other ancient religion brings before us the picture of a god as the leading figure in a long, consistent drama, or story, in which the central theme is the redemption of the human race from evil. Herein the Bible stands alone in solitary and unapproachable majesty amid the literature of the ancient world. Herein the religion of the Hebrew nation has no parallel among the cults of antiquity. Everything but this feature (and it is indeed a "feature") is present in the so-called "heathen" religions. Thus the inaugural prayer of Nebuchadrezzar, addressed to the god Marduk, is full of sentiments that are found in the Hebrew Bible:

O Eternal Ruler! Lord of the Universe! Grant that the name of the king whom thou lovest, whose name thou hast mentioned, may flourish as seems good to thee. Guide him on the right path. I am the ruler who obeys thee, the creation of thy hand. It is thou who hast created me, and thou hast entrusted to me sovereignty over mankind. According to thy mercy, O lord, which thou bestowest upon all, cause me to love thy supreme rule. Implant the fear of thy divinity in my

heart. Grant to me whatsoever may seem good before thee, since it is thou that dost control my life.[1]

As Jastrow observes, "one cannot fail to be struck by the high sense of the importance of his station with which the king is inspired. Sovereignty is not a right that he can claim—it is a trust granted to him by Marduk. He holds his great office not for purposes of self-glorification, but for the benefit of his subjects. In profound humility he confesses that what he has he owes entirely to Marduk. He asks to be guided so that he may follow the path of righteousness. Neither riches nor power constitute his ambition, but to have the fear of his lord in his heart." This example is one of many that occur all through ancient civilization. We find another instance in a remarkable Egyptian hymn to the god Aton:

How manifold are all thy works! They are hidden from before us, O thou sole god, whose powers no other possesseth. Thou didst create the earth according to thy desire. While thou wast alone: Men, all cattle large and small, all that are upon the earth, that go about upon their feet; all that are on high, that fly with their wings. The countries of Syria and Nubia, the land of Egypt; thou settest every man in his place, thou suppliest their necessities. Every one has his possessions, and his days are reckoned. Their tongues are divers in speech, their forms likewise and their skins, for thou divider, hast divided the peoples.[2]

These illustrations prove that in the bare ideas of creative power, of righteousness, and of sovereignty, we find nothing peculiar to the God of the Bible. It has often been said that while the other nations of antiquity worshiped "false" gods, the Hebrew nation served the "true" God, and that therefore the Hebrew religion has lived while the others have died. But this theory of the case does not fit the situation that unrolls before us in the history of the Hebrews. For the Bible religion puts the moral saviorhood of God in the

[1] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), pp. 296–99. Cf. Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York, 1906), p. 348.

[2] Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), pp. 373, 374.

foreground, and focuses our attention upon that; while the other attributes of the divine nature are, so to speak, incidental and secondary. It is no derogation of the Bible that we find the ethical impulse widely present in the non-Hebrew religions. It is rather to the credit of humanity that the Hebrews had no monopoly of the moral principle; while the glory of the Bible resides in just this fact, that it brings God into peculiar, dramatic connection with the moral strivings that are common to all mankind. It is not for what God is in the abstract that men worship him in connection with the Bible religion, but for what he does in the promotion of justice and righteousness. If men worshiped him simply for his "attributes," that would be to put religion upon a purely intellectual basis; and no religion can long survive on such a foundation. The Bible religion makes its way into the lives of men by its appeal to the *feelings*, and not by arguments addressed to the intellect.[1]

The religion of the Redeeming God is common to the Old and New Testaments.—In its Old Testament form, the religion of redemption was kept alive by Jewish patriotism and race-pride. It was interpreted to the Jewish people through the medium of their national interests. But the same consideration that made this religion vital and concrete to a person of Jewish blood, made it unreal and far away to the gentile world. In the eyes of outsiders, the identification of God with morality was a philosophical abstraction, without life or meaning. The gentile could not throw aside his race, and become a Jew, any more than one species of animal can transform itself into another. Thus the Old Testament form of

[1] Witness the downfall of the "New England theology," which obscured the Bible religion with as much rationalism as was ever found in the anti-religious thinkers. See Foster, *Genetic History of the New England Theology* (Chicago, 1907). As Professor W. N. Clarke well says, "Theology must discuss God in metaphysical light, but it is important to know that not in such discussing did the Christian doctrine of God originate."—*The Christian Doctrine of God* (New York, 1909), p. 23.

Bible religion was confined within the limits of nationality and race. A great social barrier stood between Judaism and the outside world.

In a later part of our study we shall consider the sociological aspects of the relation between Judaism and Christianity. Here we need to do little more than emphasize that the religion of the Redeeming God is common to the Old and New Testaments. To deny this, would be to cut the ground from under the feet of Christianity. The New Testament signifies not so much a wholly new religion as a reinterpretation of religion in such a way as to give its terms a deeper and richer meaning. The prophets of the Old Testament gave their message in "divers portions and divers ways." But the social barrier between Judaism and the gentile world ("the middle wall of partition") was at last broken down by the work of Jesus and the preaching of Paul. The religion of redemption did not begin to spread abroad in the world until the Old Testament evolution was brought to a focus, or *condensed*, in the life of Jesus, who incarnated the redemptive idea in his own person. These facts may be spoken of here by way of preliminary; but a fuller study along the indicated line of approach may not be made until we have considered the sociological presuppositions of the general problem.

Modern scientific study of the Bible comes to a focus on the moral character of Bible religion.—Since the Bible puts the principle of righteousness into the foreground, all Bible-study necessarily gravitates around this fact and becomes adjusted to it. However much the new, scientific school of Bible interpretation may seem to be dealing with matters of another kind, its fundamental preoccupation is with the great moral problem of history. The chief reason why the new scholarship has been spoken against in some quarters is because it has not been understood.

Those who condemn the new view are generally beside the

main issues. A case in point is that of Professor James Orr, whose recent widely heralded book, *The Problem of the Old Testament*, treats the modern discussion about the Bible as a war between "supernaturalism" and "naturalism." But this is to put the whole subject on a purely metaphysical plane. For nobody has ever yet drawn the line between these terms; and there appears to be no prospect that anybody ever will. Professor Orr would be closer to the issues if he perceived that the new method of Bible interpretation can be neither "naturalistic" nor "supernaturalistic," but simply scientific.[1]

How did the Bible religion come into the world?—This is the real issue at the heart of modern scientific Bible-study. Until we learn to look squarely at this question, we shall not make much progress in further understanding of the Bible. The older school, of course, finds no problem here. The ready answer of Professor Orr and the traditionalists is, that the religion of the Bible came into this world, and entered the stream of human history, by "the will of God." We admit that this answer is good and sufficient from the standpoints of theology and religious faith; but it explains nothing from the standpoint of science. On the other hand, the modern school tells us that the religion of the Bible came into the world through "a process of evolution." Thus, Kuenen writes, "It is the supposition of a natural development alone which accounts for all the phenomena."[2] But this, again, is really no scientific explanation, because the terms "development"

[1] See Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament* (New York, 1906), chap. i and *passim*. Also, his *Bible under Trial* (New York, 1907), *passim*. An older, but in some respects more satisfactory, treatment of the question is that of Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel* (New York, 1892). See also Green, *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (New York, 1895), pp. 157, 164, 165, 177. Professor Orr's work on the Old Testament is considered by the present writer in the *American Journal of Theology* (April, 1908), pp. 241–49.

[2] Kuenen, *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel* (London, 1877), p. 585; *Religion of Israel* (London, 1874), I, 11.

and "evolution" are indefinite, and may be made to cover as much dogmatism as the phrase "the will of God."

The problem before scientific students of the Bible is to find out and state the conditions under which this great but simple religion became the property of mankind. The best point of approach to this problem is afforded by the dramatic structure of the Bible. Explain the rise of the story of redemption from evil, and you "explain" the Bible, so far as it lends itself to scientific treatment. It should be emphasized in this connection that scientific research merely undertakes to discover facts, and to find out the relations between facts. It seeks to explain one fact in terms of some simpler fact. But it does not profess to turn facts inside out and explain them in a metaphysical, or absolute, sense. In other words, even if a given collection of facts be explained from the scientific point of view, the facts themselves, in last analysis, will still have a quality of mystery which eludes the scientific investigator. Many religious people have been alarmed by scientific discussion because they have not realized the *limitations* of science. On the other hand, many scientific investigators in the past have proceeded as if they were explaining the metaphysical essence of the universe when they were merely setting facts in order. But we have now entered a stage of intellectual progress in which the shortsightedness on both sides is being corrected by a wider vision.

Scientific study of the Bible carries us into the domain of sociology.—We have seen that the Bible raises the subject of social institutions by its emphasis upon "justice," or "mishpat." As a matter of fact all the great moral struggles and questions in human history have derived their controlling impulses from social relationships. And since moral questions have this collective, or social, character, it follows that the Bible (being a moral fact above everything else) lends itself to sociological treatment. But what do we mean by the term "sociology"?

Sociology fixes attention upon the "social group."—We are not usually conscious of society as a fact in our lives. We go through the round of daily duties and experiences; and all the time we think of life in terms of private, personal, individual concerns. We do not deny that we belong to the nation, the state, the county, the city, or the village; but we accept the fact of social organization without fully realizing how it shapes and constrains our private lives. We concede readily enough that people fall into social groups; but then we ask "What of it?" We take society for granted, and then act as if we are entitled to ignore it, just as we ignore the air we breathe. The fact is, we are so thoroughly social that we discount the existence of society. We conform to social standards without pausing to estimate the full meaning of the standards themselves; and the moment we take the social mechanism, or group, as a definite object of attention, we at once feel that we are moving outside the common lines of thought. "The idea of the group as a means of interpretation," writes President George E. Vincent, "is emerging more clearly. Society is too vague and abstract a concept. It is useful for symbolic purposes and for generalized description, but to have any vividness of meaning it must be translated into more concrete terms."[1] Thus it is that we find sociologists today shaping their discussions less in terms of "society" and more in terms of "groups."

A good illustration of the group idea from a negative standpoint is found in the general disposition of Greek history. The Greeks never succeeded in forming a national social organization. Consequently, their history lacks the dramatic interest attaching to the fact of unity. The case is well stated by Professor Bury, as follows (italics ours):

> To write the history of Greece at almost any period without dissipating the interest is a task of immense difficulty, as any one knows who

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1911, p. 469.

has tried, because there is no *constant unity* or *fixed center* to which the actions and aims of the numerous states can be subordinated or related. Even in the case of the Persian invasion, one of the few occasions on which most of the Greek cities were affected by a *common interest*, though acting in various ways and from various motives, it facilitated the task of the narrator to *polarize* the events of the campaigns by following the camp of the invader and describing them as a part of Persian history, though with Hellenic sympathy.[1]

In other words, the Greeks were never organized into a single social group, as the Romans or the Hebrews were. Consequently, it is more difficult to envisage Greek history than it is to see the outlines of Roman or Hebrew history. The original social mechanism of the ancient Greeks consisted of independent clan groups whose derivation went back to the nomadic period, and whose development worked out in the construction of small "city-states," such as Athens and Sparta. But these local groups never achieved any real, national unity.

Now, it is in relation to this "group idea" that our sociological study of the Bible takes form. The entire modern discussion and excitement about the Bible comes to an issue around the following simple question: *How did the social group known as "the Hebrew nation" come into existence?* In searching for the answer to this question we unexpectedly get light by the way upon the central problem of the Bible. We shall see that the origin of Bible religion can be treated to best effect in terms of sociology. This method of approach to the Bible is a logical application of modern results in historical and social science; and it opens before us the chapters of an intensely absorbing story.

We are about to enter a strange land. Like all new territory, it is a region full of surprises and paradoxes. The exploration of it is not only interesting, but rewarding in ways of which one little dreams when setting out on the journey. And when at last we come back to modern civilization, we

[1] Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1909), pp. 22, 23.

shall have learned that while the Bible seems to be only an ancient book, it is really full of modern interest. We shall find that Bible-study is no mere delving into the dust of antiquity, but the cultivation of living questions of human life. As the student "observes the evolution of political and social life in Bible times and sees the consequent evolution of moral and religious ideals, it becomes perfectly natural for him to employ in the attempt to understand the life of his own day and generation those very principles which have proved to be fruitful in the understanding of the Bible. He is thus prepared in spirit to make a positive and efficient use of the help which social science and history furnish in the analysis and solution of our own moral problems."[1]

[1] Editorial, *Biblical World* (Chicago), October, 1909.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE HEBREW NATION

How did the social group known as "the Hebrew nation" come into existence?—This question resolves the study of the Bible into sociological terms. The subject, of course, lends itself to other forms of expression; but, for present purposes, the Bible is a matter of sociology. We want to know, if possible, just how the social mechanism called "the Hebrew nation" originated. Two answers to this question have been given; and the contrast between them produces a very deep impression.

The traditional view.—According to the more familiar view, the nation consisted of twelve tribes that were suddenly welded into a mighty social organism at Mount Sinai, in the desert of Arabia. The father of these clans, or tribes, was an Aramean patriarch, or sheikh, known as "Jacob-Israel."[1] The nation which was here created was given a very elaborate, written constitution. According to this constitution, the people as a whole were to conduct religious services at one central meeting house, or church building. This was called "The Tent of Meeting," and was otherwise known as "The Tabernacle of Yahweh."[2] It was a portable sanctuary, to be carried about in the desert. It contained the one altar where sacrifices might legally be offered. It was the one church building where the services of religion might proceed. The Tent of Meeting was a virtual proclamation that here, in the wilderness of Arabia, a new social group had come into existence. The desert sanctuary was thus the central

[1] "A wandering Aramean was my father" (Deut. 26:5). See Am. Revised, margin. The Hebrew is "Aramean," not "Syrian."

[2] See footnote in "Prefatory" (p. xiii) for discussion of the name "Yahweh."

symbol of the nation's political integrity. It was the sign that the twelve tribes no longer existed separately, but were merged into a single corporation. A good point of departure for sociological study of the Bible is, therefore, the law of the central sanctuary as recorded in the Book of Deuteronomy. The law reads as follows (italics ours):

> When ye go over the Jordan, and dwell in the land which Yahweh your god causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety; then it shall come to pass that to the place which Yahweh your god shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you—your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto Yahweh. . . . . *Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest;* but in the place which Yahweh shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee (Deut. 12:10–14).

Leaving the matter of the one, central sanctuary for a moment, we turn to another feature of the traditional view. According to the Book of Joshua, the Hebrew nation crossed the River Jordan and threw its great, united army upon the Amorites, the inhabitants of Canaan, completely sweeping them away. This development is chiefly set forth by the Book of Joshua, in which various passages detail the situation as follows (italics ours):

> Joshua smote all the land, the hill-country, and the south, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings, *He left none remaining; and he utterly destroyed all that breathed,* as Yahweh, the god of Israel, commanded (Josh. 10:40).
>
> So Joshua took all that land, the hill-country, and all the south, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill-country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; from Mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon. And all their kings he took and smote them, and put them to death. Joshua made war a long time with all those kings. There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save

the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon. They took all in battle. . . . . So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spake unto Moses. And Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel, according to their divisions by their tribes. *And the land had rest from war* (Josh. 11:16–19, 23).

So Yahweh gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers. And they possessed it and dwelt therein. *And Yahweh gave them rest round about*, according to all that he sware unto their fathers. *And there stood not a man of all their enemies before them* . . . . (Josh. 21:43–44).

Thus saith Yahweh . . . . I brought you into the land of the Amorites, that dwelt beyond the Jordan; and they fought with you. . . . . And ye possessed their land; and I extirpated them from before you (Josh. 24:2, 8).

And the people answered and said . . . . Yahweh drove out from before us all the peoples, even the Amorites that dwelt in the land (Josh. 24:16, 18).

The next event that we read about after the conquest is the setting up of the one, legal place of worship, according to Deuteronomy, chap. 12 (*supra*, p. 18). This was accomplished, as we are told by the Book of Joshua, at a place called "Shiloh," in the hill-country of Ephraim. "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled themselves together at Shiloh, and set up the Tent of Meeting there. And the land was subdued before them" (Josh. 18:1; cf. 22:4).

In order to emphasize the legitimacy and singleness of the altar at Shiloh, an interesting narrative is given in the Book of Joshua concerning a great altar named *Edh* (witness), which was built by the tribes that remained east of Jordan. This excited the wrath of the remainder of the nation, which rose against them to war. But before proceeding to punish their brethren for this great crime, the assembled congregation of Israel sent word, asking the criminals to give an account of themselves. The reply of these tribes was, that the altar was not intended for sacrifice and worship, but that it stood as a mute witness to the fact that Yahweh was the god of

Israel. "And the thing pleased the children of Israel . . . . ; and the children of Israel spake no more of going up against them to war" (Josh. 22:33).

The leading ideas around which the traditional view of the origin of the Hebrew nation revolves are, therefore, these: (1) the direct issue of the nation from the patriarch Jacob-Israel; (2) the sudden formation of the national group out of the previously unorganized tribes in the desert of Arabia; (3) the Tent of Meeting as the symbol of national unity; (4) the annihilation of the Amorites, the previous inhabitants of Canaan; (5) the establishment of the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh as a reassertion of the national integrity and as the sole place of worship.

The view thus outlined is presented by the first six books of the Bible, namely, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua. This collection is distinguished by peculiarities of style and idea which mark it off clearly from the writings that follow it; so that biblical scholars do not speak of "the Pentateuch" (or five-book collection) so much as formerly, but of "the Hexateuch" (or six-book collection). Although the Hexateuch begins with a brief account of the creation of the world and the origin of races, its opening chapters are merely a preface leading to the main theme; and the entire plan of the Hexateuch, from Genesis through Joshua, revolves around the rise and early history of the Hebrew nation.

It has been pointed out that the view of Hebrew history found in the six opening books of the Bible is in startling contrast with that found in the books immediately following—Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The differences between the two accounts are great; and the discovery of them has precipitated the modern scientific investigation of the Bible.

The modern view.—In contrast with the Hexateuch, the Book of Judges presents materials for a view of Hebrew history differing greatly from the one just summarized. For

this book treats the Israelite invasion of Canaan as taking place, not during the lifetime of Joshua and under his leadership, *but after his death.* To this effect we read, "And it came to pass, after the death of Joshua, that the children of Israel asked of Yahweh, saying, Who shall go up for us *first* against the Canaanites, to fight against them?" (Judg. 1:1; italics ours). The passages reproduced below bear directly upon the situation. We quote the opening verse of Judges again by way of emphasis (italics ours):

And it came to pass, after the death of Joshua, that the children of Israel asked of Yahweh, saying, Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites to fight against them? And Yahweh said, Judah shall go up.[1] . . . . And Yahweh was with Judah, and he drove out the inhabitants of the *hill-country;* for he could not drive out the inhabitants of *the valley,* because they had chariots of iron. . . . . And Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean and its villages, nor of Taanach and its villages, nor the inhabitants of Dor and its villages, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its villages, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land. . . . . And Ephraim drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them. Zebulun drove not out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them. . . . . Asher drove not out the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Sidon, nor of Ahlab nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob; but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land; for they did not drive them out, ... Naphtali drove not out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but he dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land. . . . . Now the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the *hill-country;* for they would not suffer them to come down into *the valley* (Judg. 1:1, 2, 19, 27, 29–34).[2]

[1] We shall see later in our study, from an examination of Bible evidence, that the expressions, "asked of Yahweh," "inquired of Yahweh," and "sought the face of Yahweh," refer to the casting of lots, "Urim and Thummim," before an image called "the ephod." The statement, "Yahweh said, Judah shall go up," means, not that a voice was heard, but that the lot came out for the clan of Judah. This matter will be taken up in Part II.

[2] Amorite and Canaanite are alternative Old Testament terms for the previous inhabitants of Canaan, some passages using one and some the other. For various reasons, we shall use "Amorite."

Beginning with the passages reproduced above, the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings picture the case very differently from the Hexateuch. In the first place, there is no national organization and no commander-in-chief at the time the clans come into Canaan from the desert of Arabia. Instead of a single imposing, united army, we see independent clan groups. Each clan acquires a foothold in the *hill-country;* while, at the same time, the earlier inhabitants, instead of being annihilated, remain in possession of a long list of walled cities, most of which, together with adjacent villages and fields, are in the *lowlands*.

Not only do these items of difference emerge at once; but as we read on, we nowhere discover the state of things which the Hexateuch leads us to expect. Nowhere do we find a trace of the "one valid, central sanctuary." Instead of this we find sanctuaries widely scattered here and there all through the hill-country. These places of worship are independent of each other; and they are identified with the separate clans which took possession of the hill-country at the time of the invasion. To be sure, we find a place of worship at Shiloh; but this is only one of the many sanctuaries to which the masses of the people and the leading men resort habitually for the purpose of offering sacrifice to Yahweh. These village churches (for such they may be called) are to be found at such places as Bethel, Mizpah, Ramah, Gilgal, Bethlehem, Hebron, Dan, Gibeon, Shiloh, Nob, Mount of Olives, etc.[1] The local sanctuaries reappear in Kings under the name of *bamoth*, or "high places"; and about five hundred years after the invasion, an attempt is made to abolish them, so that the religious devotion of the people may be centered upon the temple erected at Jerusalem by Solomon. This attempt is

[1] See Judg. 6:24; 11:11; 17:5, 13; 18:30; 20:26; 21:2–4, 5, 8; I Sam. 7:5, 6, 9, 17; 9:12, 13, 14; 10:8; 11:14, 15; 16:5; 20:6, 29; 21:1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9; II Sam. 15:7–9, 12, 30, 32; I Kings 3:4; 8:1; and the many notices of the *bamoth*, or "high places," in I and II Kings.

made in connection with a strange writing brought forward from the temple by a priest. But the experiment fails for lack of popular support; and the people soon return to the ancient village churches.

Everything goes to show that the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, although they stand after the Hexateuch in our present arrangement of the Bible, were compiled *before* the Hexateuch was written, and that they present material for a more trustworthy and reasonable view of Hebrew history than do the first six books of Scripture. Their testimony agrees with what scientific research has discovered about the origin of other ancient nations outside the limits of Hebrew history, and also with what has been learned about clan life among the less advanced races at the present day. We shall therefore temporarily set the Hexateuch aside, reverting to it later in our study. The fact of its disagreement with the books following it neither deprives it of all value as a historical witness nor invalidates it as an item in the wonderful process by which the religion of the Bible came into the world. But of this, more in due course. Our immediate concern is with the modern view of Hebrew history as that view is formulated in dependence upon Bible sources outside the Hexateuch. The modern answer to the question about the origin of the Hebrew nation may be stated briefly, in sociological terms, as follows:

The social group known as "the Hebrew nation" came slowly into existence, in the land of Canaan, at the point of junction between two previously hostile races, the Israelites and the Amorites.

By planting ourselves firmly upon the group idea, and examining the Bible from this point of approach, we begin to find light upon many Bible facts and problems that are otherwise enshrouded in darkness. There are some highly important and central aspects of the Scripture and of Hebrew history

that cannot be thought through clearly without reference to the idea of the social mechanism. The modern view of the Hebrew nation is, that it could not possibly have originated in the Arabian desert, as described in the Hexateuch, but that its characteristic form is due to the gradual fusion of two races which were at first hostile to each other.[1]

[1] The modern view of Hebrew history is corroborated by certain passages found here and there in the Hexateuch itself (Deut. 7:22; Josh. 13:1–6, 13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11–13; 23:4, 5, 12, 13, etc.). These inconspicuous verses and sentences do not agree with the central standpoint of the Hexateuch. But they are in harmony with Judges and Samuel, and evidently come from the same ancient documents that constitute the body of those works. For another interesting study of the two views, read Ps. 44:1–3, and then Ps. 106:34–40. We shall take up the interesting subject of the *making* of the Old Testament in Part II.

CHAPTER III

PLAN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

At the present time, any new book dealing with the problem f the Bible is likely to come into the hands of an intelligent nd growing class of persons whose needs and interests ought o be borne carefully in mind by any author who enters this eld. Large numbers of laymen are today in revolt against nany of the older statements of doctrine. Such persons are n possession of normal intelligence and mental competence. ut for various good and sufficient reasons, it has not yet ome in their way to understand what has already been done y scholarship to meet their difficulties. They cannot be noved by the mere word of "authority" (the world is fast merging from that stage); and they can be influenced only nrough an appeal to their intelligence and the discipline f their mental powers along new lines of thought. The rofessional reader may be presumed to be able to take care f himself.

We shall now deal with the presuppositions which underlie ne foregoing chapters. It may be taken for granted that the nethod thus far pursued has caused the non-professional eader to ask certain questions which we may now turn aside o consider. The foremost of these questions will have elated to the *making of the Bible.* We have seen incidentally nat the Bible, in its present form, is not contemporary ith the events described; and we are now ready to hear omething about the literary nature of the Bible. The eader will also have asked, from time to time, certain ques- ons about the social organization and habits of thought ving at the basis of Hebrew life and common to the Semitic

peoples; and we are therefore now ready to learn somethin about the ancient foundations which existed before the Bibl religion arose. We want to know more about the civilizatio in which these remarkable events took place. The mile post of our journey are more or less familiar; but the land throug which we are traveling is a country of strange marvels;[1] an we would pause by the way to investigate some of its aspect more closely. These matters we shall take up in the followin division of our study, Part II, under the title, "Elements o the Bible Problem."

In Part III, entitled, "Development of Bible Religion," w shall go systematically into the social process through whic the religion of the Bible came into existence. The line o treatment there to be followed has been suggested in th Prefatory.

In Part IV, "The Spread of Bible Religion," we shall tak up the sociological phase of the relation between Judaism an Christianity, and consider the progress of the gospel of redemp tion through the Roman empire and mediaeval Europe.

In Part V, "The Bible and Its Religion in the Moder World," we shall consider chiefly the social and economi aspects of the Reformation, the rise of higher criticism, an the reassertion of the social aspect of the Gospel.

The program thus laid down must be held rigorousl under control in order to be of the most benefit. Discussion of metaphysical and theological problems must be avoided; fo they have no place in a course of scientific study like th present.

[1] This expression comes from a private letter to the writer.

PART II

ELEMENTS OF THE BIBLE PROBLEM

FOREWORD TO PART II

This division of our study is intended chiefly for the layman. The treatment here is not entirely, but mainly, sociological. The following chapter, for instance, on the "Making of the Old Testament," relates to a theme which would appear to fall entirely within the scope of literary introduction. But, by emphasizing that the Old Testament puts forward a series of *moral verdicts* on a social process already lying in the past, we adjust the literary problem within the sociological perspective. More obviously sociological are the chapters on "The Kinship Institutions," and "The Industrial Institutions"; while the chapter on "The Early Religious Institutions" will be found to be of substantially the same character. After we have canvassed the elements of the situation, we shall be ready to consider the development of Bible religion.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Hebrew Bible was compiled from documents much older than the Scriptures.—The ruin of ancient Israel was necessary to the birth of the Old Testament. The Hebrew Bible was compiled and published in view of the national downfall. Its writings were collected by editors and commentators who lived long after the events described. The Old Testament, as a whole, has come to us through the hands of writers who look back on Hebrew history from a long distance in time. The method of these authors, as they themselves indicate, was first of all to extract material from ancient books, word for word. Several of these ancient sources, far older than the Bible itself, are given by name. Thus, we find *The Book of the Wars of Yahweh* quoted in Num. 21:14, 15. This work was regarded as an authoritative "source" by the writers of the Bible. Of similar nature was *The Book of Yashar.* This is quoted in II Sam. 1:18–27, and in Josh. 10:12,13. More frequently referred to are certain writings called respectively *The Book of the Matters Pertaining to the Kings of Israel*, and *The Book of the Matters Pertaining to the Kings of Judah.*[1] These authorities are often mentioned (see I Kings 14:19, 29, etc.).

Then there are other facts, of a different nature, pointing to the same conclusion, that the Old Testament was put into its present form by writers who were not contemporary with the events described. For instance: The Book of II Kings

[1] They have these titles in the Hebrew; but they are cited in English Bibles as the books of the "chronicles" of the kings of Israel and Judah. They are not the books of I and II Chronicles, however; for they are said by the writers of Kings to contain material which we cannot find in I and II Chronicles.

akes us up to the Babylonian captivity; whence we get the uggestion that this book was produced *after* that event. n the same way, the Book of Judges, which deals with a very arly period of Israelite history, speaks of the "captivity" 18:30). Whether this refers to the captivity of Israel in he eighth century, or that of Judah in the sixth—in either ase, the writer occupies a standpoint many hundreds of years emoved from the *events* described in Judges. This is a natter of the simplest reasoning. The process by which this onclusion is reached is not in any way mysterious. Suppose ve pick up a history of the settlement of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts, in which there occurs a reference to the election f Lincoln to the presidency of the United States. From his, we at once know that the author of the book must have vritten at least as late as 1860, or two hundred and forty ears after the arrival of the Pilgrims in America.

Again, take the following passage in Genesis: "And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he led orth his trained men, born in his house, and pursued as far s Dan" (Gen. 14:14). If we now turn to the Book of Judges, ve read that the city of Dan did not receive this name until period long after the Israelite invasion of Canaan, when Abraham had been dead many years. It was given this name y the clan of the Danites; and we are explicitly told that he name of the city "at the first" was *Laish* (Judg. 18:27–9). Why, then, does not the narrative in Genesis tell us hat Abraham pursued as far as Laish, the earlier name which he city had in the patriarchs' day, instead of saying that he ursued as far as Dan? The obvious answer to this is, that he writer of Genesis was familiar with the later name of the ity; and that the Book of Genesis was composed long after he Israelite settlement in Canaan. Here again, therefore, ve find ourselves facing the conclusion that a given book in he Bible was written, or edited, by a person or persons not

living at the time of the events described. Another equally strong piece of evidence regarding the date of Genesis is found in the following statements: "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. 12:6). The writer of Genesis thus occupies the standpoint of that late period when the Canaanites, or Amorites, were fused with Israel, and lost within the mass of the Hebrew nation. In order to give local color to the history of the patriarchs, the writer of Genesis thinks it well to say incidentally that the Canaanites were *then* in the land. These interesting items are samples chosen from a large mass of evidence accumulated by modern scientific study of the Bible.

In the age when the Bible was produced, there was no idea of literary property. Books were chiefly written on rolls of heavy paper; and the owner of a manuscript felt free to do as he pleased with it. Writers would copy a manuscript upon a new sheet, and intersperse their own comments. They would copy out a number of old writings on a new roll, and add their own remarks without giving notice to that effect. There were no footnotes, or other devices now employed in books. All these considerations have to be held constantly in mind when we are studying ancient works like the Bible.

It is now definitely established that the first six books of the Bible (the Hexateuch) were produced after the Babylonian exile by copying passages out of a number of *earlier* documents, and putting these passages together so as to make the books in their present form. This method of production, instead of being unusual, was very common. We have already observed a parallel case in the composition of the Books of Kings. Another instance is found in the old Arab historians, who constructed their books by wholesale borrowing from earlier sources. The writings entering into the Hexateuch (Genesis through Joshua) are identified as follows: The

arliest sources are two cycles of narratives, or stories, called espectively the "Yahweh writings" and the "Elohim writ-ngs." These appear to have been first composed in Israel nd Judah after the revolt from the house of David. They mbody many old songs and traditions coming down from the im past; and they are quite widely distributed throughout he Hexateuch. The next writings in point of age are the Deuteronomic," found mostly in the Book of Deuteronomy. he very latest elements in the Hexateuch are called the Priestly writings." The meaning of these terms will come ut more clearly farther along in our study.

It is not our place to go over the argument by which these onclusions are suggested. For that line of study belongs o another discipline, the literary and historical investigation f the Bible. The scientific sociologist, approaching the ible from the outlook of his own line of work, takes for ranted the generally established results of literary and istorical study of the Bible. These results are indispensable o any kind of research which aims to set forward the inter-retation of the Bible. The most fundamental form which ney take is, that the Old Testament was compiled from arlier books; and that the writers who did the compiling ved at a late period, long after the downfall of the Hebrew ation. This is the most general way of stating the case. t is a conclusion of modern science, just as definite and certain s the established laws and principles of chemistry and physics. his, however, is only a preliminary statement which does ot conduct us into the center of the Bible problem. When e have digested and emphasized the fact that the Hebrew ible was actually composed in the way thus indicated, we re in a position to advance another step.

The Old Testament is an ethical work, which pronounces oral verdicts on past history.—The moment that we dis-over *how* the Old Testament was brought together in its

present form, at that very moment another question arises The Bible writers admit that they used only a part of the an cient writings at their disposal. They do not quote all th material at their command. They quote only portions of th ancient books. And they are often in the attitude of sayin to us, "If you want more information, behold it is to b found in such and such books." The question arises now Upon what principle did the Bible writers choose their materia out of the ancient sources? In short, Why was the Ol Testament written?

The answer to this question is, that the Old Testamen (and ultimately the New Testament) was written to confirm the work of the great insurgent prophets who lived befor the downfall of the nation. The purpose of the Bible is no history in the scientific sense, but *religious edification.* Th writers through whose labor we get the Bible were men satu rated and inspired by a moral purpose. They made use o Hebrew history and tradition just as far as this ancient mate rial served their purpose, and no farther. The controlling air of the Old Testament is to advance the Yahweh religion a the worship of the One, righteous God, preached by the grea prophets before the Exile. To this end, the compilers of th Bible brought together a vast mass of material out of ol books, and interspersed this ancient material with comment of their own, pointing out here and there the moral lessons o past history, and working all the time in the spirit of th great prophets.

We now find ourselves advancing toward a clear-cu idea of the way in which the Bible was composed and th purpose for which it was written. The authors of th Bible were virtually sitting in judgment on the history o the human race in general and their own direct ancestor in particular. And now a further interesting truth claim our attention.

The editorial point of departure in the making of the Old Testament is condemnation of the Hebrews for walking after the iniquity of the Amorite."—The editor who compiled the Books of Kings had before him a roll, or sheet, containing stories about the prophet Elijah. The twenty-first chapter of I Kings gives the story of Elijah, Ahab, and Naboth, which is familiar to everybody who reads the Bible. Now, the entire chapter (I Kings, chap. 21), with the exception of two verses (25 and 26), was copied out of the Elijah stories. The two verses in question were introduced by the late editorial writer for the purpose of pointing out the *moral* of the story. The chapter would read more smoothly if these two verses were omitted, for they break the literary connection of the narrative. They are very fittingly placed in parentheses by the English and American revised versions; but neither the Hebrew text nor the King James translation employs that device. Vss. 25 and 26 are, in fact, no part of the story; and they simply represent the editor's verdict, or sentence of judgment, upon the history which he is copying out. The verses in question read thus: "But there was none like unto Ahab, who did sell himself to do that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up. And he did very abominably in following idols, according to all that the *Amorites* did, whom Yahweh *cast out* before the children of Israel."

It is to be observed, in the first place, that the editorial sentence of judgment is uttered in view of a comparison between the Israelites and the Amorites; and, in the second place, that the Amorites are thought to have been "cast out" by Yahweh. These considerations, indeed, give us the point of departure in the literary construction of the Old Testament. While it is true that the Bible stands for justice and morality in the abstract, it is nevertheless true that the "iniquity of the Amorite" was the concrete factor at work in the moral development of the Hebrew nation. Parallel

with this is the truth, already emphasized, that while Yahwe is opposed to all other gods, he is practically conceived i opposition to the Baals of the Amorites. The gods and th morals of the earlier inhabitants are thus taken up togethe into the process of Hebrew evolution.

The proof of this position develops as we go farther into th evidence. The patriarch Abraham is told that he himsel cannot inherit the land of Canaan, "for the iniquity of th Amorite is not yet full" (Gen. 15:16). The moral practice of the Amorite, then, are the black spot in the Bible writer' field of vision. As we move onward in the Hexateuch, the doo of the earlier inhabitants draws near: "Defile not ye yourselve in any of these things. For in all these the nations are defile which I cast out from before you. And the land is defiled Therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it; and the lan vomiteth out her inhabitants" (Lev. 18:24, 25). "For th wickedness of these nations Yahweh doth drive them out fro before thee" (Deut. 9:4). The alleged expulsion of th Amorites is described in the Book of Joshua, with which th Hexateuch ends (cf. *supra*, Part I, chap. ii). The connectio of these Hexateuchal passages with the editorial judgmen upon Ahab in I Kings, chap. 21, is so obvious as hardly to ca for comment. They all move within the same circle of idea about the early history of Israel. Other passages of lik import in the Books of Kings are as follows: "The abomina tions of the nations which Yahweh drove out before the chi dren of Israel" (I Kings 14:24). "Now it was so, becaus the children of Israel had sinned against Yahweh their go . . . . and had feared other gods, and walked in the statute of the nations whom Yahweh cast out . . . . , therefo Yahweh was very angry with Israel, and removed them ou of his sight. . . . . So Israel was carried away out of the own land to Assyria *unto this day* " (II Kings 17:7, 8, 18, 23

The concluding words, "unto this day," bring before us the Bible writer surveying the past. These various quotations prove beyond a doubt what was the standpoint of the men who gave us the Old Testament: They were a long distance removed in time from the actual history of the Hebrew nation. They do not undertake to construct an accurate, or scientific, narrative. They make use of many documents and traditions; and they make no account of disagreements between these ancient authorities. They are interested in history for the sake of the moral lessons which may be drawn from it; and the concrete occasion of their moral judgment is "the iniquity of the Amorite." In this way the Old Testament was made.[1]

The considerations here brought forward are among the "elements" of the Bible problem with which the present division of our work deals.

[1] "There is no evidence," writes Professor Briggs, "that the Divine Spirit guided these historians in their historic investigations so as to keep them from historic errors. The Divine Spirit guided them in their religious instruction in the lessons they taught from history. But there is no evidence of other guidance."—Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (New York, 1900), p. 566.

CHAPTER V

THE ANCIENT SEMITIC PEOPLES

Israel was one of a number of Semitic peoples.—The nation called "Israel," which appears in the foreground of Bible history, is one out of many social groups constituting the great Semitic race. One of the important facts calling for attention in sociological study of the Bible is the racial connection of Israel with surrounding peoples. The Semites are identified with the region lying at the junction of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In ancient history this remarkable race was distributed over the Arabian peninsula, the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, and the valley of the Nile. These localities contained populations wholly or partly Semite. The Arabian peninsula was the field of the Arabs. The valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates were the seats of the Babylonians. The Nile valley was the home of the Egyptians. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean, on the coast itself, were the Phoenicians. Farther inland were the Canaanites, or Amorites, the Arameans, or Syrians, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Israelites.

All of these peoples have similar characteristics; and their languages evidently developed out of an earlier Semitic speech whose elements are common to all the peoples of this race. It has remained for modern science to point out broadly the racial connections and affiliations of Israel. But the legends of the Hexateuch admit the same fact. The ancestors of Israel are said to have lived in the region of Babylonia, and to have migrated westward into Canaan and Goshen (Gen., chaps. 11 ff.). Israel and the surrounding nations have ties

f common blood. The entire situation suggests that the arlier, prehistoric homeland of the Semitic race was the eninsula of Arabia. On this point, Barton writes as follows n his work on Semitic evolution:

> The peculiar conditions of life which the Arabian deserts and oases ave presented for millenniums are the matrix in which the Semitic haracter, as it is known to us, was born. . . . . The Bedawi are lways underfed, they suffer constantly from hunger and thirst, and neir bodies thus weakened fall an easy prey to disease; they range the lent desert, almost devoid of life, where the sun is all powerful by day nd the stars exceedingly brilliant by night. This environment begets n them intensity of faith of a certain kind, ferocity, exclusiveness, and nagination. These are all Semitic characteristics wherever we find ne Semites; and there can be little doubt but that this is the land in hich these traits were ingrained in the race.[1]

Comparative study of the institutions pertaining to all the emitic nations has been a factor of large importance in modern cientific interpretation of the Bible. We have already made ome reference to the Semitic neighbors of Israel; and we hall have occasion to do so more frequently as our study roceeds. We shall now turn to some of the institutions that ere common to the Semites, and which have to be reckoned ith in sociological study of the Bible.

[1] Barton, *Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), p. 28.

CHAPTER VI

KINSHIP INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

The fact of kinship, the tie of blood, was emphasized very strongly in ancient society.—The nations of ancient history were not composed of individual persons, in the modern sense. They were made up of "houses," or families, which were organized on the basis of blood relationship. The family group takes its origin amid the darkness of prehistoric times. It is the foundation stone of savage and barbarian society; and it has always been a powerful factor in the life of the great historic civilizations. The farther back we go in ancient history, the more important the family becomes. In fact, ancient society was regarded as an *extension* of the family; and the nation Israel was commonly referred to, in terms of kinship, as the "children of Jacob-Israel," or the "family of Israel." It is at first rather difficult for the modern mind to realize the strength of the kinship idea in ancient society. Only with an effort can we grasp the importance of the blood bond among races more primitive than ourselves. In ancient history, and also among the more backward peoples now living on the earth, kinship is the only ground upon which a social group can be constructed. It is the central tie around which the activities of life revolve. The modern civil state puts the tie of blood in a subordinate and inconspicuous place; and it overlays the family idea with an imposing network of political relations. But in an ancient society like Israel, the civil state was impossible and unthinkable. The simpler organization of life in those ages thrust the bond of blood clearly into the foreground. Not only so; but the fact of kinship itself was treated from a standpoint unlike that of the present day.

The family in ancient Israel differed greatly from the modern mily.—The standard form of the Israelite and Semitic mily was what is now called the "patriarchal." A patri-ch is simply a "ruling father." In accordance with this ea, the head of an Israelite family group was called in Hebrew e *baal*, בַּעַל. Where this word occurs in the Old Testa-ent, it is variously rendered "master," "owner," "hus-nd," etc.[1] The *baal* was the legal owner of the household oup standing in contact with him. He was the proprietor his wife, or wives, children, slaves, cattle, houses, lands, c. The various phases of domestic life in ancient Israel ere disposed with reference to this principle of subordination. The position of the family head is illustrated to good effect the laws of the Book of Exodus. Thus we read: "If an gore a man or a woman to death, the ox shall surely be oned . . . . , but the *baal* of the ox shall be quit" (Exod. :28). In translating this passage, the English versions nder the term by the word "owner." Again, we read: f thou buy a Hebrew slave, six years shall he serve; and the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. . . . . *If he be al of a wife*, then his wife shall go out with him" (Exod. :2, 3). The phrase here italicized is rendered by the nglish versions, "If he be married." Another example found in Isaiah, as follows: "The ox knows his owner, d the ass the stall of his *baal*" (Isa. 1:3). Thus we see at the same Hebrew term indicates proprietorship of a fe and ownership of an animal. The word *baal*, used in is way, is not familiar to those who read the Bible only in odern translations. But it is well known through trans-*eration* as a noun commonly applied to the local gods of the norites. These gods were thought of by their worshipers the divine owners, or masters, of the fertile soil of Canaan. ne term *baal* is also known, to some extent, as an element

[1] We shall discuss the application of this term to the gods later.

in "theophoric" proper names, as "Jerub-baal, who is Gi eon" (Judg. 7:1), "Esh-baal" (I Chron. 8:33). Whenev it occurs in the Hebrew text merely as a common noun, as the cases quoted above from Isaiah and Exodus, it is n transliterated, but is rendered by terms like "owner," "husband." Study of this word is highly instructive regar ing the constitution of kinship groups among the Israelit In view of these considerations, the following well-know passage acquires new interest:

A worthy woman who can find? For her price is far above rubi The heart of her *baal* trusteth in her; and he shall have no lack of ga She doeth him good and not evil all the days of her life. She seeke wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. She is like t merchant ships. She bringeth her bread from afar. She riseth a while it is yet night, and giveth food to her household, and their porti to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it. With t fruit of her hands she buyeth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins w strength, and maketh strong her arms. She perceiveth that her m chandise is profitable. Her lamp goeth not out by night. She laye her hands to the distaff, and her palms hold the spindle (Prov. 31:1 19).

It is to be observed that the ideal wife, according to th passage, can turn her attention to almost any kind of wor day and night. Such a woman will not only work by lam light; she will rise in the dark hours of the morning, prepa breakfast, and set the household slaves to their tasks. is to be noticed, however, that the writer distinctly impli that such a person is only an ideal. For he asks, Who c find such a woman? And then he adds that, even if s were found, she would be so valuable that her *price* would far above that of rubies.

The mention of price calls up another phase of the subje The Israelite wife was virtually the property of her husban standing almost in a chattel relation to him. A wife w obtained by outright purchase, either in money or goo

om her father or her male guardian. In the Hebrew lan-
age, the price of a woman is called the *mohar*, מֹהַר. No
arriage ceremony, in our sense of the word, was considered
cessary to legalize the union of man and woman. The
galization of marriage was just the payment of the *mohar*.
is from this point of view that the Deuteronomic law
gulates the seduction of a virgin. The offender shall pay
e damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and take her as his
fe (Deut. 22:28, 29). A slightly different version of this
w is given elsewhere, as follows: "If her father utterly
fuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to
e *mohar* of virgins" (Exod. 22:17). In the view of Hebrew
w, therefore, outrage of female virtue takes the character
a damage to the rights of private property. The mar-
geable girl is the property of her father, the *baal*.

Under a social system in which the husband is the owner
his wife, there is naturally no restriction upon the number
wives he may have, except the limits imposed by his eco-
mic resources and the available supply of women. Polygamy
as therefore a factor in the domestic institutions of ancient
rael. Accordingly, we find that many Israelites had two
ves; some, three or four; while kings and rich men had
ll higher numbers. Large establishments, of course, were
aintained only by the wealthy. The polygamy practiced
men like David and Solomon must have been exceptional;
d in the latter case there is probably some exaggeration in
e narratives. Plurality of wives must have been quite
nited among the mass of the people. The case of Elkanah,
e father of the prophet Samuel, is doubtless more normal
d representative than that of Solomon: "Now there was
certain man of the hill-country of Ephraim; and his name
as Elkanah; and he had two wives. The name of the one
as Hannah; and the name of the other, Peninah" (I Sam.
1, 2). Jacob had two wives, Rachel and Leah (Gen.,

chap. 29). Lamech had the same number, Adah and Zill
(Gen. 4:19). It makes no difference whether Jacob a
Lamech were actual persons or not. The stories in whi
they appear give an accurate reflection of the social life
Israel after the settlement in Canaan. The underlyi
social institutions of the Hexateuch are in agreement wi
those of the Judges-Samuel-Kings narratives.

When the *baal*, the head of the family, died, his proper
descended to the eldest son. If there were no son, the esta
went to some other male relative, or to an adopted male he
Inheritance must by all means go down through the ma
line. This principle was absolute. A good example is fou
in the case of Abraham, who declares, "I go childless; a
he that shall be the possessor of my family is Eliezer of Dama
cus" (Gen. 15:2). By reference to the narrative, we fi
that Eliezer is the steward, or chief slave, in the family
Abraham. If Abraham die without male issue, the stewa
a foreigner, is to be his heir. For his wife Sarai cann
inherit. If Isaac had not been born, Eliezer would th
have been the successor of Abraham. An example of t
adoption of a trusted slave so that he could inherit is found
I Chron. 2:34: "Now Sheshan had no sons, but [he ha
daughters. And Sheshan had a slave, an Egyptian, wh
name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jar
his slave to wife." By such means the organized life of t
kinship group was continued under male headship, and t
family establishment was kept together.[1]

These references to *adoption* prove that while blood kinsh
was regarded as the fundamental bond of society, the princi
could not be applied consistently. If the kinship theo
were strictly followed out, it would have excluded all forei

[1] "The right of daughters to inherit was not an immemorial custom. . . . . Th
is no trace of the existence of such a right in the pre-exilic period; and . . . . it r
be reasonably inferred that as late as the end of the seventh century B.C. the righ
daughters to inherit was still unknown."—Gray, *Numbers* ("International Crit
Commentary," New York, 1903), p. 397.

ood from Israel. But the Israelites were frequently in ntact with foreigners who came into close relations with em; and, as a matter of fact, it appears that the nation lled "Israel" was itself the product of an ethnic mixture. the first place, it was the result of union between the invad- g clans from the Arabian desert and the earlier Amorite nabitants. As time went on, other outsiders were grafted to the social body. Jarha, the Egyptian slave, is a case in int. King David's grandmother was a Moabite woman of e name of Ruth, as indicated in the Book of Ruth (4:17). ng Ahab married a Phoenician woman from the city of don (I Kings 16:31). Ezra's prohibition of marriage with reigners is post-exilic, as are also the corresponding laws the Hexateuch (Ezra 9:1, 2 ff.; Exod. 34:15, 16; Deut. 3, 4; Josh. 23:12). In cases where these aliens were nales, they came in either through purchase, or by capture war, or by way of state-marriage with the kings. Where ey were of the male sex, they came in either as chattels, or adopted freemen. An outsider thus adopted was known a *ger*, גֵּר (in the plural, *gerim*). The Old Testament has a eat deal to say about the "stranger" and the "sojourner." is the *gerim* that are in view. Free foreigners became a rt of Israelite society by adoption into some native family, ter which they were treated as blood members of the kin.

These facts give us an introduction to the Israelite family. actically the same arrangements prevailed throughout e Semitic field. Everywhere the social unit was the house, family, called in Hebrew *bayith*, בַּיִת. The house, or mily, was a group connected by ties of blood, real or assumed, d living together under the rule of a patriarchal owner, or *al*. Such a group was known as a *beth-ab*, or "father's use."[1] A family would go to great lengths in order to

[1] *Beth* is what is called the "construct" form of the noun *bayith*. It is produced a simple change of vowels, according to rule, and means "house of." Thus, the ne "Beth-lehem" has the meaning "House of bread." "Beth-el" means "House God."

avenge the injury or death of anyone connected with
Although the primitive law of blood-vengeance has a har
effect when viewed from outside the family circle, it is
expression of group solidarity in the earlier stages of soci
evolution; and when regarded from *within* the kinship grou
it represents the acme of kindly feeling.

**Many puzzling Bible facts can be explained from the stan
point of the kinship group.**—The Israelites may hold foreigne
in slavery; but they may not rule over their "brethren
with rigor (Lev. 25:44–46). The Israelites may not u
tainted meat as an article of food; but they may *give* it
the stranger who is within their gates, that he may eat
or they may *sell* it to a foreigner—a puzzling gradation
morality, surely, but perfectly intelligible from the standpoi
of the primitive social group (Deut. 14:21). Abraham te
a lie—but to the Egyptians, who were enemies of Isra
(Gen. 12:13). Jacob cheats—but he cheats Esau, the fath
of the Edomites, who were Israel's foes (Gen. 27:35). A
while the Israelites admit kinship with their neighbors, t
origins of these nearby peoples are said to be blotted wi
stains of dishonor. For instance, their enemies the Moabit
and Ammonites resulted from the incest of Lot, a neph
of Abraham, with his own daughters (Gen., chap. 19). Aga
their enemies the Ishmaelites are allowed to be children
Abraham, but through a slave-woman, Hagar, who belonged
Sarai, the wife of Abraham (Gen., chap. 16). Their enem
the Edomites were sprung from a grandson of Abraham w
foolishly despised the sacred privileges of his birthrig
which he sold for a mess of pottage (Gen., chap. 25).
we take the biblical material frankly as coming, not fr
a people with modern ideas, but from a nation wh
morals are fixed by the usages of the ancient kinship grou
we shall have no difficulty with problems that will
otherwise obscure.

Family groups in Israel were organized into larger groups r various purposes.—During the period contemplated by e Book of Judges, there was a rude but powerful control of ciety based on the organization of these "father's houses" to groups known as "clans." In Hebrew, the clan is called *ishphachah*, מִשְׁפָּחָה. As for the nation, or kingdom, it id no existence in the "Judges" period. "In those days ere was no king in Israel" (Judg. 21:25). The people ere in the clan stage of social evolution at the time of the raelite invasion of Canaan, and for long after. Each clan id its own leader, corresponding to the Arabian *sheikh* of e present day. The clan head was a kind of arbitrator tween the different families composing the association. this character he was known as a "judge," or *shophet*, שֹׁפֵט. This word connects with the term *shaphat*, meaning to cide, to administer customary justice, or to rule. From the me origin is derived the word *mishpat*, now so familiar to us, ferring to the "judgment," or "justice" which prevailed om time immemorial in the Israelite and other Semitic ans. In cases of dispute between families, it was the duty the *shophet* to hold a court of justice, and decide how the an customs found application to the matter in hand; the uestion being, "What was wont to be done by them of old me?" The judge was not in a position of absolute authority. is verdicts were subject to the approval of a council of elders no represented all the freemen of the families composing the an. It is this primitive state of things that Isaiah has in ind when he says, "I will restore thy judges, as at the first, id thy counsellors, as at the beginning" (Isa. 1:26).

The functions of these men related not only to peace but to ar. For matters of defense and offense are always of large nportance in the clan stage of history. War policy was cided ultimately by the freemen of the clan. Sometimes number of clans united against a common enemy. A

case in point is the co-operation of several Israelite cla against a number of desert clans which had likewise unit against the Israelites and invaded the land:

> Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of t east assembled themselves together; and they passed over, and e camped in the valley of Jezreel. But the spirit of Yahweh came up Gideon; and he blew a trumpet; and [the clan of] Abiezer was gather together after him. And he sent messengers throughout all [the cla of] Manasseh; and they also were gathered together after him; a he sent messengers unto [the clans of] Asher, Zebulun, and Naphta and they came up to meet them (Judg. 6:33–35).

In this case, the clan leader Gideon, by his energy a initiative, performed a service of great value to a number independent clan groups. The inevitable result was that acquired prestige beyond the limits of his own clan, Abiez "Then the men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over u both thou, thy son, and thy son's son also; for thou ha saved us out of the hand of Midian" (Judg. 8:22). Su men as Gideon, connected with the old family aristocrac were called into prominence by the conditions of the ea period. Although Gideon did not become king, it was men of his class that the people turned for leadership wh the time came to unite the clans permanently into a natio The family heads and the clan leaders owed their master position very largely to the terrific *strain* imposed up society in the all-round struggle for existence in those ea and stern ages of the world. The despotic power of t ancient Semitic *baal*, or house father, seems excessive wh viewed from the standpoint of our gentler modern civili tion; but there was great need that the members of th kinship associations be disciplined by a strong hand lest th be swept out of existence by rival groups. The power of t *baal* was, in fact, a useful "function" of ancient socie We have looked at the subject in the present chapter chie from the standpoint of kinship; and it now becomes nec sary to look at the facts from another angle.

CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

Human slavery was an important element in the social fabric of ancient Israel.—The very circumstances that gave the household *baal* his position and authority in Israel depressed the other members of the family group in various degrees. The *baals* collectively constituted the upper social class—the freemen; while the remainder of the population was in the lower class. But within the lower class itself there were differences of position. The most inferior place of all was held by the slave, or bondservant. Slavery, indeed, was not a thing in a corner; it was an institution, bound up in the essential structure of society. A good illustration is given by the following passage from the Book of Leviticus:

> As for thy bondmen [*ebed*] and thy bondmaids [*amah*] whom thou shalt have: Of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they have begotten in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall make them for an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession. Of them shall ye take your bondmen forever (Lev. 25:44–46).[1]

Few readers of the Bible among the laity are aware that slavery had the public, fundamental character which this

[1] The Hebrew word *goyim*, "nations," in vs. 44, is translated "heathen" by the King James Version, on the theory that slavery is a punishment for heathenism. But in other cases where the same Hebrew term occurs, it is rendered correctly by the King James Version, as in Gen. 12:2, where the promise is made to Abraham, "I will make of thee a great nation." If the King James translators were here consistent with their usage in Lev. 25:44, they would have to make it read, incorrectly, "I will make of thee a great heathen." Again, in Gen. 25:23, where Yahweh says to Rebekah, "Two nations are in thy womb," they would have to render the passage, "Two heathen," etc. In all these passages, the revised versions translate correctly and consistently "nation."

passage indicates. We must, therefore, emphasize it further before proceeding to deal with it from the sociological standpoint. An instructive sidelight on the passage that we have just quoted from Leviticus is furnished by the "tenth commandment" (Exod. 20:17). This is a general injunction against the sin of covetousness. As translated by the King James and the Revised versions it reads: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." The words rendered "man-servant" and "maid-servant" are exactly the same that occur in the passage previously reproduced from Leviticus, namely *ebed* and *amah;* and they should be translated exactly the same. The slightest thought about this well-known commandment is enough to show that the "servants" in question must have been regarded as property, or it would not be a sin to covet them. For there is nothing wrong in desiring your neighbor's free, hired servant. Clearly, then, the Hebrew and the logic of the "tenth commandment" indicate the fact of slavery. Again, the same words recur in another important connection, as follows: "If a man smite his bondman [*ebed*] or his bondwoman [*amah*] with a rod and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished. Nevertheless, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*" (Exod. 21:20). The nouns for slave in this passage are correctly rendered in the *margin* of the English and American Revised versions, but not in their text, nor anywhere in the King James translation. In this last passage, the slave is frankly reckoned among the financial resources of his master, as in the italicized clause reading, "for he is his money." The evidence thus put forward could be multiplied if necessary; but it is probably sufficient for the purpose in hand.

Slavery, however, was not peculiar to Israel; it was common to the ancient civilizations.—The origin of slavery is very simple. It has no existence where labor is not able to produce a *surplus* of goods over and above immediate needs. Thus, the Masai of East Africa have no provisions to spare. They are nomads, who live upon herds of a constant size; and they kill their prisoners of war. On the other hand, their neighbors, the Wakamba, are higher in the evolutionary scale, being farmers and traders; and they do *not* kill their prisoners of war, but keep them for industrial purposes.[1] These two tribes illustrate the contrast between the wandering and the settled periods of social progress. The nomadic Masai have no economic surplus and no slaves. The settled Wakamba have both an economic surplus and slaves. The general principle at work here is not difficult to see.

If we follow social evolution back into the nomadic stage, we find many small groups warring fiercely in a great struggle for food. Under such conditions, war is a campaign to exterminate rivals. But in the midst of this crude, savage world, the trend of social evolution is vastly and profoundly affected by all that we designate under the head of "progress in the material arts." It is material progress that makes the gulf between savagery and civilization. The savage cannot control the physical world in which he lives; but the civilized man is able to control and shape his environment. Progress in the material arts brings with it the power of producing a surplus over and above immediate needs. This changes the issue of war. The victors, instead of slaughtering their prisoners, begin to spare life and to make slaves of the vanquished. Thus, material progress converts war from a struggle for extermination into a struggle for domination, or control. The larger, better organized, and more powerful groups conquered and absorbed the smaller, producing compound social

[1] Ratzel, *History of Mankind* (London, 1896), Vol. I, p. 123.

groups, with an upper layer of freemen and a lower class of slaves and other inferior persons. Thus there came slowly into existence national societies, occupying favored regions like the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the curtain at length rolled up on the stage of world-history. These considerations, based on an overwhelming mass of evidence, thoroughly sifted and proved by scientific research, carry us upward by a direct route through the mists and uncertainties of primeval ages into the light of that ancient period in which the Hebrew nation had its remarkable history. Ancient Semitic civilization comes forward out of the darkness of prehistoric times, through a haze of myth and legend. Its progress in material art lifts it high above the surrounding savagery and barbarism. But it moves under the heavy stress and strain of war; and it is everywhere stratified into two classes, whereof the lower is the property of the upper.

Slavery arises when society passes over from the nomadic to the settled state; and it continues until social evolution advances to higher levels. It was one of the pillars upon which the structure of society in Old Testament times was based. Its prevalence in Israel is hardly realized until we study the biblical narratives and laws closely. The fact of human bondage in Israel, and in the Semitic civilization as a whole, is not to be viewed in the light of modern ideals it is to be approached from the standpoint of the social process at large. Ancient civilization may be figured as an *oasis* green and fertile, amid the desert of savagery and barbarism. One of the most important functions of the upper classes in ancient history was military defense of society, in order that the lower classes might enjoy the peace necessary to productive industry. This, of course, was only one of the vital functions of the upper orders. It would have been impossible for free societies to achieve and organize the progress that has

ved the world's way upward from savagery into modern ilization. Modern democracy is as yet unaware that it a heavy pensioner upon culture attained through despotic titutions.[1]

The superior class in Israel was upheld not only by slavery by ownership of the soil.—Slavery is not the only basis distinction between social classes. The institution of d ownership is a great factor in the situation. When the aelites entered Canaan a large part of the open country ne into their grasp. The pastures and farm lands which s became the spoil of war fell sooner or later into the session of the *baals*, or family chiefs, who ruled the clans Israel.[2] The institution of private property in land had n long established in the settled parts of the Semitic world; l the passage of Israel from desert life into Canaan repre- ts their entrance into a new circle of ideas and practices h reference to property. The writings of the eighth- tury prophets and their immediate successors indicate t the soil in their day was already reduced to the category absolute private ownership, to all practical intents and poses (Mic. 2:1, 2; Hos. 5:10; Isa. 5:8). By the time Jeremiah, no other treatment of the soil was considered sible: "Men shall buy fields for money, and subscribe deeds, and seal them, and call witnesses, in the land of njamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the es of Judah, and in the cities of the hill-country, and in cities of the lowland, and in the cities of the south" (Jer. 44). The *baals*, therefore, in addition to their ownership the lower class, acquired the land of the country. No

[1] Cf. Wallis, *American Journal of Sociology* (May, 1902), Vol. VII, pp. .; and *Examination of Society* (1903), pp. 38–46.

[2] We need not here go into the subject of the evolution of land-holding from a or theoretical, common ownership to individual possession. The documentary ence in the Bible is of course too slender to show us just what was the actual tion at the period of invasion and settlement. Two systems came into conflict.

other treatment of the soil would have been practicable that period of the world's development.

The Israelites of the country districts were organized in agricultural and pastoral villages.—So far as we can lear there were no isolated houses or tents where single famil dwelt alone. Such an arrangement would be dangerous that period of the world's history. The pressure of enem from the desert and from neighboring countries made sing establishments impracticable. The rule was for a numb of related "father's houses" to unite in a rustic villag This was not a "city" in any sense, but merely a hami set in the midst of the fields and hills. The country distric were dotted with these tiny villages. They were collectio of tents or houses, built close together for protection, witho regard to architectural beauty or symmetrical arrangeme of streets. The identification of the unwalled villages wi the life of the fields about them is indicated thus: "T villages that have no wall round about them shall be reckon with the fields of the country" (Lev. 25:31). To the dwel in a walled city, like Jerusalem, these tiny hamlets were part of the open country life of the nation: "Let us go for into the field; let us lodge in the villages" (Song of S 7:11).

Every morning, all who could work went forth into t near-by fields; and at night they came back to the shelter the hamlet. A good illustration is found in the village Gibeah, which lay a few miles northeast of Jerusalem territory pertaining to the clan of Benjamin. Gibeah was very small place, having only one main street. In Jud 19:16 we read, "And behold, there came an old man from work *out of the field* at even." Gibeah was the home of Sa who became king of Israel. Concerning Saul we read, "Th came the messengers to Gibeah of Saul. And behold Sa came following the oxen *out of the field*" (I Sam. 11:4,

aelite country life has this disposition wherever we catch
nt of it. The boy David cares for the sheep of his father
se in the hills of Judah; but the family headquarters are
the little village of Bethlehem (I Sam., chap. 16). The
ne of the prophet Elisha was in the village of Abelmeholah;
his work was in the fields outside. We read that when
isitor came to seek him, "Elisha the son of Shaphat was
wing with twelve yoke of oxen before him" (I Kings
16, 19). Likewise, the residence of the prophet Amos
s at the hamlet of Tekoa; and his business was that of a
pherd and a dresser of sycamore trees (Amos 7:14). A
d picture of Israelite village life is found in the Book of
th. Here, the hamlet of Bethlehem stands in the center
the scene. One of the local *baals*, or household lords, is
oaz of the family of Elimelech." This man owns land
side the village, and has many dependents working for him,
h male and female. All the leading characters of the times
ered by the books of Judges and Samuel were men belong-
to the upper class in the hill-country. Some were, of
rse, wealthier than others. We reproduce a highly instruct-
passage concerning a sheep master in Judah:

> And there was a man in [the village of] Maon, whose business was
> Carmel [the garden land]. And the man was very great. And he
> three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. And he was shearing
> sheep in Carmel. . . . . Now the name of the man was Nabal;
> . . and he was of the clan of Caleb. And David heard in the wilder-
> that Nabal was shearing his sheep. And David sent ten young
> . . . . Get you up to Carmel, and go to Nabal, and greet him in
> name. . . . . And Nabal answered . . . . and said, Who is David?
> . . There be many slaves now-a-days that break away every man
> his master (I Sam., chap. 25).

This passage puts on view a number of the characteristic
ial facts that we have been studying: Nabal was a freeman
he Israelite upper class. He belonged to a clan which was
own as "Caleb." His home was in the rustic village of

Maon. His business was in the neighboring fields. possessed much property, which included slaves. His ref ence to the truant habits of slaves was probably suggested personal experience. Nabal's wealth was doubtless abo the average; but he is a type of the *baal* class that control ancient Israelite society.

Another good illustration is found in the patriarch Abraha Although the Abraham narratives in Genesis are not accep as literal history of the times before the invasion, they excellent sources of knowledge about the society in wh midst they were composed and circulated. We must bear mind that while the Book of Genesis relates to prehisto times, it was not written until after the Israelites had be settled in Canaan for hundreds of years. This was brou out in our study of the making of the Bible. We class Abraham, then, with Nabal; and we will now examine data, in order to see how the two cases compare. It is s that when the patriarch heard that his nephew Lot was tak captive, he set forth to the rescue at the head of three hund and eighteen slaves, born in his own family (Gen. 14:14, 1 Evidently, Abraham was not the lonely wanderer sometim pictured, but rather a "noun of multitude." In accorda with this, we read that he was "very rich in cattle, in sil and in gold" (Gen. 13:2). Of like social position and wea was his nephew Lot. "And the land was not able to b them, that they might dwell together; for their substa was great. And there was strife between the herdsmen Abram's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle" (G 13:6, 7). Excepting that Abraham is necessarily presen as a wanderer, his position in the social structure is identi with that of Nabal. Abraham's nomadism is imposed up the story by the conditions of the narrative, which purpo to deal with the ancestors of Israel during the nomadic per

[1] The word "slave," *ebed*, occurs in vs. 15.

efore the invasion of Canaan; but in all other respects, braham and Lot can be lifted bodily out of the Book of Genes and put alongside the leading characters in the Book of amuel. In the same class comes the famous Job, another reat worthy. It is entirely beside the point to ask whether ob was a real historical person or not. He is a type, whether e be real or ideal. In the first chapter of the book bearing is name, we read that he had eleven thousand cattle and a reat multitude of slaves.[1] Although deprived of his possesons by misfortune, he became, according to the story, doubly ch in the end.

There is no evidence that, after the invasion of Canaan, *all* he Israelites moved regularly and uniformly onward from the conomic activities of nomadism into those of settled life. n fact, so far as the evidence permits us to form a definite onclusion, it points the other way. No society has ever one smoothly over from one stage of industrial development nto another. There is always an overlapping of stages. nd if the pursuits of the more primitive period are essential o society (as, for instance, the cattle raising of nomads), hese pursuits will be continued by a part of the population. number of modern scholars have tried to build a theory f Israel's religion upon the assumption of a uniform passage rom nomadism to agriculture. It is supposed that when he Israelites entered Canaan, they all made terms with he local Baal cults of the Amorites; which, translated into conomic terms, means that a number of pastoral clans mmediately became farmers. The Amorite gods were supposed to bless the soil, and cause the dew and rain to fall; ence their cults were closely bound up with agriculture. The farmer had to worship the Baal of his district in order o have good crops. It may at once be conceded that a

[1] The word indicating bondservants occurs in 1:3; *Abudhah rabbah*, "much ave service"; but in the English versions, "a very great household."

majority of the Israelites became farmers after a time, an worshiped the Amorite gods. But the assumption is impo sible that all, without exception, bowed the knee to the Baal Agriculture flourished more genially in Ephraim than els where; and here the fusion of Israelites and Amorites wa more thorough than anywhere else. But the other two division of the country—Judah and Gilead—stood in closer touc with the Arabian desert, and remained on more primitiv economic levels. Judah's rocky soil was more friendly to th shepherd than to the farmer, as many examples prove. Gilea was "a place for cattle" (Num. 32:1). Here, the goats la along the mountain side (Song of Sol. 4:1). Here, peop and flock fed in the ancient days (Mic. 7:14). And he Yahweh would bring Israel once more to the sheepfold an the hills (Jer. 50:19). It is highly significant that the fir two great prophets, Elijah and Amos, are identified wit Gilead and Judah respectively (I Kings 17:1; Amos 1:1 In protesting against the corruption of the age, they are bot represented as leaving their own, more primitive home and going over into Ephraim, the favored land of agricultu and the stronghold of the Amorite gods.

No distinct, independent class of merchants and manufa turers, in the European sense, arose in Israel.—The mo advanced forms of industry, which have had such a treme dous development in western civilization, were comparative backward in Israel and among the Semites at large. Neverth less, long before the arrival of Israel in Canaan, a considerab trade in manufactured goods and natural products had arise between Egypt, Arabia, Canaan, Mesopotamia, Greece, an outlying tribes.[1] In connection with trade, it is necessary have definite centers where exchange can be regularly carri on. Hence the growth of cities. Another stimulus to ci

[1] Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 260; Rogers, *History Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1901), Vol. II, p. 280.

fe is manufacture, which tends to centralize at the points
exchange. We have seen that walled cities dotted the land
Canaan long before the Israelites entered the country;
nd we have shown that the invaders were not able to take
nese Amorite strongholds. The confinement of the Israelite
ans to the hill-country for several generations excludes
otice of commerce and manufactures from the narratives of
udges and Samuel. In those books, the country landlord
ands at the forefront of the stage. Although country and
ty—highland and lowland—were at length united under the
ings of Israel, the Books of Kings in their present form are
preoccupied with religious conflicts that the economic
nase of life is obscured in those writings.

Among the Semites, the old nobility of the clanships retained
ersonal hold over commerce and manufactures, managing
nese forms of industry through slaves. Even kings were not
shamed to become traders by proxy, as in the case of Solo-
non, who in this regard followed the example of the rulers of
gypt and Babylon (I Kings, chaps. 9 and 10). The figures
the noble and his steward are familiar in the literature
the Old and New Testaments. The chief slave of Abraham,
who ruled over all that he had," stood near the top of
ne social system, next under the *baal* himself (Gen. 24:2).
eading slaves of this kind were everywhere favored in
roportion to their importance. In order to stimulate them
the most faithful service, they were given commissions or
share in the profits; and they were thus able to acquire
ealth of their own. The case of Simonides in the novel
en Hur (Book IV, chap. iv) is a well-known illustration.
uch men might buy their freedom, and set up independently
the ancient nobility if they wished, as provided for in
eviticus: "If he become rich, he may redeem himself"
Lev. 25:49). But the stress of war and the general inse-
urity were so great in the ancient Semitic world that the

benefit of detachment from the old clanships appears to have been outweighed by its disadvantages. Accordingly, favorite slaves who became wealthy preferred to stand connected with some noble family of established position and influence.

Thus, there was a tendency in Israel and throughout Semitic civilization toward the rise of a distinct merchant and manufacturing class, or "third estate," as it has been called in European history. But this tendency never got full expression; and the industrial side of life was never detached from the old clanships. Much can be learned at this point by comparison. In ancient Greece and Rome, and again in mediaeval Europe, commerce and manufactures began under the conditions just outlined; but their evolution went much farther; and the tendency toward the formation of a new social class became irresistible. The "third estate" sprang into existence outside the limits of the old noble families. An interesting situation resulted. The old nobility of Europe, through its control of the taxing power and the courts, hindered the ascent of the third estate. Great historic collisions resulted, the outcome of which was the admission of the new class to a voice in the government. The basis of the state, in Greece, Rome, and modern Europe, was thus transferred from Family to Property. In Semitic civilization, however, nothing of this kind occurred. Government remained on the family basis; and the unfledged "third estate" continued within the shelter of the ancient clanships.

Likewise the laboring class, or proletariat, never acquired the character of distinction within Israel.—The earliest legal codes in the Old Testament make no mention of *hired* labor, but assume that slavery is the universal condition of the lower class. These codes are in Exod., chaps. 20 and 21 ff. But in later laws, provision is made for the free laborer, thus:

> Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren [the children of Israel], or of thy sojourn-

ers that are in thy land within thy gates. In his day thou shalt give him his hire; neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it (Deut. 24:14, 15).

Likewise, another late law provides that "the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning" (Lev. 19:13). These laws were made in full view of a condition in which the price of hired labor was fixed by the overshadowing influence of slavery. Where slavery is an established institution, as in Israel, it would not profit the upper classes to pay "free" labor much more than slaves got—that is, a bare living. This deduction agrees with the laws just cited; for laborers who had to be paid from day to day could not have stood above the economic level of slavery.

The industrial institutions of Israel developed under the forms of the ancient Clan State.—In spite of a progressive tendency, the economic side of Hebrew life always remained primitive. The social classes that became prominent in the later civilizations were unfledged in Israel and throughout the Semitic world. The "third estate," on the one side, and the "proletariat," on the other, were never organized on an independent footing. They existed potentially; but they had no means of self-expression, and no class-consciousness. Our survey of Israelite industry, therefore, ends where it set out—with the clan. From first to last, society was conceived only as a brotherhood group.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

All ancient peoples had gods.—It is a commonplace that all the clans and nations of antiquity had religions, and that they all worshiped what were supposed to be real beings which we call "gods." The same is true of present-day savages who have not been converted to a higher faith. Ancient nations and unconverted savages, then, have this in common: they are what we call "pagan," or "heathen." From the standpoint of primitive religion, or heathenism, there is no single, true God, besides whom no other god exists. For in the view of primitive religion, all gods are equally real: one god is as much a real being as another. All the written records of antiquity, including the Bible itself, are prepared in view of this impressive fact. Long before the dawn of "historic time," the idea became established in the human mind that there *are* gods. No book—not even the Bible—has ever laid open to us the secrets of the process by which the human mind became possessed of the god-idea. Sociological study of the Bible, therefore, is not required to investigate the origin of religion in general. It presupposes, or takes for granted, the idea of the gods and the practices of heathen religion as data with which to *begin*.

In primitive religion, the gods are thought of as members of the social group.—It is a matter of great significance for sociology that in primitive religion the god of any people is considered to be a member of the social circle that worships him. The gods, in fact, had as real a place in the social fabric as the worshipers themselves. To describe the situation in modern terms, Church and State were always united

in ancient society. Religion and politics were intimately connected. The separation of Church and State was unthinkable to the ancient mind. The divorce of religion and politics was impossible. Everybody was religious. Atheism, skepticism, and agnosticism, in the modern sense of these words, were unknown. Worship of the gods was held to be vitally necessary to the welfare of society. If a man refused to take part in the religion of his kinship group, he thereby ostracized himself. As nonconformity could not be tolerated, he became an outcast. The good will and blessing of the gods were conditioned upon the performance of the customary acts of worship on the part of all members of the group. Each group was responsible, as a corporation, for the maintenance of religion. It was the feeling of group responsibility that was outraged by refusal to take part in the customary acts of worship; and it was this group sense of outrage that led to the expulsion of the nonconformist. If he were not cast out, as a visible expression of abhorrence, the group would be constructively in fellowship with impiety; and this would bring down the divine wrath upon all alike. Thus we read: "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised. . . . . And the uncircumcised male . . . . , that soul shall be cut off from his people. He hath broken my covenant" (Gen. 17:13, 14; cf. Exod. 12:44, 45). On this point, W. Robertson Smith writes:

> Religion did not exist for the saving of souls, but for the preservation and welfare of society, and in all that was necessary to this end every man had to take his part, or break with the domestic and political community to which he belonged.[1]

The feeling of "group welfare" goes a long way toward explaining religious persecution. It was entangled in the complex motives of the Reformation period, when Catholics

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 29. Cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), chap. iii; Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (Paris, 1905), pp. 70–118.

and Protestants viewed each other's worship as offensive to God, and likely to bring down the divine wrath on the entire community.

In view of the former close connection between religion and politics, it is not surprising to find that primitive thought looks upon the gods in a very intimate and familiar way. No essential or qualitative distinction was made between divinity and humanity. The gods were in fact magnified men. They were looked upon as personal beings, essentially like men but more powerful; and in the ancient mythologies they are said to have lived with men on the earth in the springtide of history.

The social body was not made up of men only, but of gods and men. The circle into which a man was born was not simply a group of kinsfolk and fellow-citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings, the gods of the family and the state, which to the ancient mind were as much a part of the particular community with which they stood connected as the human members of the social circle. The relation between the gods of antiquity and their worshipers was expressed in the language of human relationship, and this language was not taken in a figurative sense, but with strict literality. If a god was spoken of as a father and his worshipers as his offspring, the meaning was that the worshipers were literally of his stock, and that he and they made up one natural family with reciprocal family duties to each other.[1]

The Hebrew term translated "God" in modern versions of the Bible is "el," or "elohim."—The root meaning of the Bible word which is translated "God" is power, or might. In the singular, it is *el*, אֵל, or *eloah*, אֱלוֹהַּ. It appears in the singular in Exod. 6:3; and it is transliterated in the Revised margin of that passage, where the reader is told that "*El* Shaddai" means "*God* Almighty." It reappears many times in the New Testament, for instance in the words of Jesus on the cross: *Eloi*, meaning "My God" (Mark 15:34). It is found in many of the Hebrew names, as Beth-*el*

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.;* cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Studies in Comparative Religion* (London, 1890), Vol. I, pp. 30, 31.

"House of God" (Gen. 28:19). A striking illustration is the name Isra-*el*, which is said to mean "God strives" (Gen. 32:28). Consideration of this term *el* introduces one of the most important aspects of the Bible problem.

In the first place, we would seem to have good grounds for supposing that the term *el* (the singular form) is the term which we always translate "God." This assumption, however, is not correct. For it is not the singular *el*, but the plural *elohim*, אֱלֹהִים, which is most frequently rendered "God." The singular form occurs only about 200 times in the Old Testament; while the plural is found over 2,500 times. The syllable *im* is a plural suffix in Hebrew; so that if we have regard to grammatical form, the word *elohim* should always be rendered "gods." This, however, is wrong again. For in the picturesque Hebrew usage, the plural sometimes has the force of the superlative mode, heightening the function of the singular, but not changing its number. In most cases where the plural form *elohim* occurs, the reference is not to many gods but to one God. Thus, in the opening sentence of Genesis, we read that *elohim* created the heavens and the earth. In this case the context proves that the writer intends the singular usage. And since the singular form *el* indicates "power," the use of the plural in this passage means that the work of creation was accomplished by Superlative Power, i.e., God, viewed as one Being. But in other cases, precisely the same plural form, *elohim*, has the *plural* sense. Take, for instance, the words of David in the following passage: "They have driven me out this day . . . . , saying, Go, serve other *elohim*" (I Sam. 26:19). Here the word is correctly translated "gods" by all the versions; yet it is precisely the same combination of letters that occurs in the opening sentence of Genesis. We have to judge the meaning in many instances from the context alone. While there is no difficulty in most cases, the word is frequently used in

ways that embarrass translators who seek to make popular versions. But the difficulty of those who try to make translations that can be understood by the wayfaring man is the opportunity of purely scientific scholars. Consideration of these embarrassing *elohim* passages will carry us farther into the subject before us in this chapter. The first that we shall take up under this head occurs in the account of King Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, an ancient spirit medium. The king wanted to consult the ghost of the prophet Samuel, who had recently died. We are not concerned here to discuss the reliability of this narrative as literal history, but merely to examine the ideas attaching to the term *elohim*, which occurs in a very startling way in this remarkable story. We reproduce a part of the passage:

Then said Saul unto his slaves, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his slaves said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and went, he and two men with him. And they came to the woman by night. And he said, Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I shall name unto thee. . . . . Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice. . . . . And the King said unto her, What seest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I see *elohim* coming up out of the earth. And he said unto her, What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel. And he bowed, with his face to the ground, and did obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up? (I Sam. 28:7 ff.).

In modern versions prepared for the people at large, a case like this tries very sorely the patience of the translators; and the result serves only to distract the devout. In the King James Bible, the translators make the woman say, "I saw *gods* coming up." This is followed immediately by the question from Saul, "What form is *he* of?" or "What is *his* form?"

But if the word *elohim* should be rendered "gods," as the King James Bible has it, then Saul's question should be, "What is *their* form?" The Hebrew text, however, will not permit this, for it goes on to talk about one person, i.e., Samuel. Accordingly, both Revised versions, English and American, change the main text of the translation to the singular, and make the woman say, "I see a *god* coming up," in this way securing grammatical agreement with the question, "What form is he of?" But the Revisers thereupon place "gods" in the margin. So that the wayfaring man is left in much perplexity. Not only so; but it surprises him to encounter the term "god," or "gods," in the Bible with reference to a human being. Leaving this matter open, we turn to another instructive case in the same category, as follows:

> And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of *the elohim* saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also, after that, when the sons of *the elohim* came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same were the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown (Gen. 6:1, 2, 4).

In this case, the King James Bible and the Revised versions alike turn the Hebrew phrase "the sons of *the elohim*" into "the sons of God"; and all marginal instruction for the benefit of the laity is omitted. While we cannot be dogmatic on this point, it is probable that the phrase should be translated "the sons of the gods," rather than "the sons of [the One] God," as our English versions render it. What we have here, apparently, is a fragment of primitive epic, standing on the same plane of culture with the passage quoted from Samuel. It is a bit of ancient mythology which came down to the editor of Genesis from Semitic heathenism. The sons of the gods cohabit with the daughters of men, and beget a progeny of

giants. Precisely the same thing takes place in the Greek Bible, the *Iliad*, where the heroes have a double ancestry, human and divine.[1]

The most common form of primitive religion is worship of gods pertaining to family and clan groups.—Family religion at first appears to be ancestor worship. This is well represented by the Chinese, with their "ancestral tablets," before which they bow in worship and leave offerings of food. In ancient Rome we find the "Lares," or private family gods. Concerning these, the historian Mommsen writes:

> Of all the worships of Rome that which perhaps had the *deepest hold* was the worship of the tutelary spirits that presided in and over the *household* and the store-chamber. These were in family worship the gods of the household in the strict sense, the Lases or Lares, to whom their share of the family meal was regularly assigned [as among the Chinese], and before whom it was, even in the time of Cato the Elder, the first duty of the father of the household on returning home to perform his devotions. In the ranking of the gods, however, these spirits of the house and of the field occupied the lowest rather than the highest place.[2]

A careful study of primitive religion has been made at first hand by Rev. Duff Macdonald, a Presbyterian missionary in central Africa. His work among the Soudanese natives brought him into contact with ideas and practices that carry us far back into the atmosphere of primitive religion. He shows that the prayers and offerings of the natives are directed toward the spirits of household chiefs who have passed away. "It is here," he says, "that we find the great center of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living." In view of such facts, we now begin to see why it is that primitive religion always regards the gods as actual

[1] It is true that the definite article, when placed thus, is intended sometimes to indicate *the* one, true God, as in Isa. 37:16 and 45:18. But would any Hebrew scholar assimilate these lofty spiritual passages in Isaiah with the sensually suggestive passage in Gen., chap. 6?

[2] Mommsen, *History of Rome* (New York), Vol. I, pp. 213 f. (Italics ours.)

members of the social groups that worship them. Mr. Macdonald writes:

In all our translations of Scripture where we found the word GOD we used *Mulungu;* but this word is chiefly used by the natives as a general name for spirit. The spirit of a deceased man is called his *Mulungu*, and all the prayers and offerings of the living are presented to such spirits of the dead. It is here that we find the great center of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living. Where are these gods found? At the grave? No. The villagers shrink from yonder gloomy place that lies far beyond their fields on the bleak mountain side. . . . . Their god is not the body in the grave, but the spirit, and they seek this spirit at the place where their departed *kinsman* last lived among them. It is the great tree at the verandah of the dead man's house that is their temple; and if no tree grow here they erect a little shade, and there perform their simple rites. . . . . The spirit of an old chief may have a whole mountain for his residence, but he dwells chiefly on the cloudy summit. There he sits to receive the worship of his votaries, and to send down the refreshing showers in answer to their prayers. . . . . It is not usual for anyone to approach the gods except the chief of the village. It is *his relatives* that are the village gods. Everyone that lives in the village recognizes these gods; but if anyone remove to another village he changes his gods. He recognizes now the gods of his new chief. . . . . Ordinary ghosts are soon forgotten with the generation that knew them. Not so a few select spirits, the Caesars, the Napoleons, the Charlemagnes, the Timurs of savage empires. A great chief that has been successful in his wars does not pass out of memory so soon. He may become the god of a mountain or a lake, and may receive homage as a local deity long after his own descendants have been driven from the spot. When there is a supplication for rain the inhabitants of the country pray not so much to their own forefathers as to the god of yonder mountain on whose shoulders the great rain-clouds repose.[1]

The idols of Israel and other peoples had the character of images representing the gods.—In primitive religion it is customary to prepare some physical token or symbol toward which the worshiper may direct his prayers and offerings.

[1] Macdonald, *Africana;* Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God* (New York, 1897), pp. 25–28. (Italics ours.)

Thus the idols of paganism originate; and they take many forms. Sometimes the dead body of a chief is embalmed and worshiped. In ancient Egypt the gods were thus frequently represented by a mummy. In that country the god Osiris was said to have lived on the earth in early ages, and to have been killed by his brother. Concerning this god, Professor Breasted writes:

> The original home of Osiris was . . . . in the Delta; but Abydos, in Upper Egypt, early gained a reputation of peculiar sanctity, because the head of Osiris was buried there. He always appeared as a closely swathed figure, enthroned as a Pharaoh or merely a curious pillar, a fetish surviving from his prehistoric worship. The external manifestations and the symbols with which the Egyptian clothed these gods are of the simplest character and they show the primitive simplicity of the age in which these deities arose.[1]

The Israelites had family gods, represented by images.— Bearing in mind the facts adduced above, we shall now consider the traces of household, or family, religion in Israel. The private gods of Israel were known as *teraphim*. It will be noticed that this is a plural form; but it may indicate many gods or one, as its usage is analogous to that of *elohim*. We find a very instructive example of household religion in the family of a certain Micah, an Israelite of the upper class, living in the highlands of Ephraim. His date is not known; but he is said to have lived in the "Judges" period, before the time of the monarchy. We quote as follows:

> And there was a man of the hill-country of Ephraim whose name was Micah. . . . . And the man Micah had a house of *elohim* [gods], and he made an ephod and *teraphim*, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest. . . . . And there was a young man out of Bethlehem-Judah . . . . who was a Levite. . . . . And the man departed out of . . . . Bethlehem-Judah, to sojourn where he could find a place; and he came to . . . . the house of Micah, as he journeyed. . . . . And the Levite was content to dwell with the man. . . . . And Micah

[1] Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 60.

consecrated the Levite; and the young man became his priest (Judg., chap. 17).

The narrative in Judges goes on to relate the circumstances under which the tribe of Dan, consisting of six hundred warriors, robbed Micah of his priest and his *teraphim*. At first the Levite objected; but the Danites bade him hold his peace, asking him, "Is it better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man or to be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel?" No answer to this question is recorded; but the story continues, "And the priest's heart was glad; and he took the ephod and the *teraphim* and the graven image, and went in the midst of the people" (Judg., chap. 18). Here we find the cult of the *teraphim* in a private family, from which it is appropriated by a large clan. Another trace of the *teraphim* is found in the home of David, as follows:

> And Saul sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning. And Michal, David's wife, told him, saying, If thou save not thy life tonight, tomorrow thou wilt be slain. So Michal let David down through the window. And he went and fled and escaped. And Michal took the *teraphim* and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goat's hair at the head thereof, and covered it with the clothes. And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said, He is sick. And Saul sent the messengers to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him. And when the messengers came in, behold the *teraphim* was in the bed, with the pillow of goat's hair at the head thereof (I Sam. 19:11–16).

From this passage, we learn that the *teraphim* was an image having a human form, or it could not have been put to the use indicated. We quote another instance:

> Now Laban was gone to shear his sheep; and Rachel stole the *teraphim* that were her father's. . . . . And Laban said to Jacob . . . . Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods [*elohim*]? And Jacob answered and said to Laban . . . . With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live. . . . . For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen

them. . . . . Now Rachel had taken the *teraphim* and put them in the camel's saddle, and sat upon them. And Laban felt all about the tent, but found them not (Gen., chap. 31).

The real nature of the *teraphim* is obscure to us. They were clearly a species of *elohim*, or god. They were images having a human form. They were a part of the private, household religion that is found in all ancient and primitive societies. Before them were cast lots (Ezek. 21:21). Their worship could be transferred from the auspices of a private family to those of a clan, as in the case of Micah and the Danites. But beyond these considerations we are in the dark as to the family cult in Israel.

Next above the family gods in Israel were other local gods, the Baalim, etc.—Above this humble form of worship there developed a great superstructure of religious institutions which commanded the devotion of many families *in common*. The genesis of these more extensive and widely practiced cults is easily understood, for we can often see them in process of construction. Under favorable circumstances, a god who has but few adherents may attract a wider circle of worshipers. It should be understood that a god can rise to leadership in the same way a man goes up in the social scale. A number of clans may unite against their enemies, taking the god of the leading clan as an object of common worship within the confederation. The establishment of wider cults outside the limits of the household group does not bring with it suppression of the humbler forms of religion; for several degrees, or grades, of religious institutions can exist within a community.

After the Israelites entered Canaan, many of them adopted from the Amorite inhabitants a form of religion that stood outside the limits of private, or family worship. This was the cult of the Baals, or Baalim, already noticed. We have seen that the term *baal*, in the singular, indicates the master and pro-

prietor of the Israelite family. In the same way, the local Baals of the Amorites were looked upon as the divine owners and masters of different parts of Caanan. Those of the Israelites who intermarried with the Amorites, and took up farming—especially in Ephraim—adopted the worship of the Baals quite naturally as a part of the legitimate system of religion. We shall recur to the highly important subject of Baal worship in a later part of our study.

Above the worship of the teraphim and Baalim stood the cult of Yahweh.—We now come to the widest form of Israel's religion—to the cult which overtopped that of all the local gods of the people of Canaan. When the Israelites finally succeeded in forming a national social group under the kings, the cult of Yahweh became the national religion. We cannot now learn how general and widely diffused the worship of Yahweh was at the time of the invasion. We do not know how many clans took part in this movement; nor how many of the clans which the Old Testament reckons to Israel in the desert were formed after the settlement in Canaan. But it is clear that certain people called Israelites brought this cult into Canaan from the desert; and that around this cult the Israelites and the Amorites gradually fused into a nation whereof Yahweh became the divine symbol.

The idea of Yahweh, as found in the earlier parts of the Bible, is very primitive. He was at first worshiped in Israel as a local Semitic deity. Not only were the Baals of the Amorites worshiped at the same time with him; but the Israelites also admitted the reality and power of the gods of other foreign peoples. His earlier, local character comes distinctly into view as we examine the more ancient parts of the Old Testament. A good illustration is found in a speech attributed to one of the Israelite chiefs in the Judges period, in which he addresses the king of the Ammonites, east of the Jordan, to this effect: "So now, Yahweh, the god of Israel,

hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldst thou possess them? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess?" (Judg. 11:23, 24). The argument here urged by the Israelite chief, is based on the "divine right of conquest." Israel is entitled to keep the territory that has been won by the help of Yahweh; and, in the same way, the Ammonites ought to keep the territory that has been given to them by their god Chemosh. This foreign god appears to have been worshiped also by the Moabites, who occupied neighboring lands east of the Jordan. He appears in another passage: "Woe to thee, Moab: Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. He hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity" (Num. 21:29). The early Israelites believed in the reality and power of Chemosh and other foreign gods just as they believed in the reality of Yahweh.

Another instructive reference to the god Chemosh is found in the account of a battle between Israel and Moab. The conflict was going against the Moabites: "And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew sword, to break through unto the king of Edom, but they could not." So closely were the Moabites besieged in their capital city that they found it impossible to break out and escape. Goaded to desperation, King Mesha now resolved upon a measure of the last extremity: "Then he took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall." This was done with all solemnity upon the wall of the besieged city, in full view of the Israelites, who knew just what it meant. The king was giving up to the god Chemosh his eldest son in the hope that the god of Moab would thus be stimulated to fight harder for his people, and pour the vials of his wrath upon Israel. After giving full details up to this point the Bible narrative ends abruptly in embarrass-

ment. King Mesha had seized the "psychological moment" for his awful sacrifice. "And there came great wrath upon Israel; and they departed from him and returned to their own land" (II Kings 3:26, 27).

The gods of Moab and Israel reappear in the background of the Book of Ruth. An Israelite widow, Naomi, who had been living in Moab, set out to return to Israel. Seeing her two daughters-in-law following, she bade them return. One of them obeyed; but the other, whose name was Ruth, would not. Naomi thereupon said to Ruth: "Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people *and unto her god.* Return thou after thy sister-in-law" (Ruth 1:15). In other words, Naomi urged her Moabite daughters-in-law to return to their people and to the worship of Chemosh, the god of Moab. But Ruth replied: "Where thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge. Thy people shall be my people, and thy god my god." From these words, the older commentators and interpreters of the Bible concluded that Ruth was a convinced adherent of Yahweh, the god of Israel. But the little story gets its point, not from Ruth's devotion to Yahweh, but from her attachment to Naomi. She emphasizes that whatever people, or god, or land, is chosen by Naomi will be acceptable to Ruth. So, in the passage already quoted from Rev. Mr. Macdonald's *Africana*, we read, "If anyone remove to another village he changes his gods. He recognizes now the gods of his new chief." Exactly the same attitude was taken by Ruth and Naomi; and any other interpretation does violence to this beautiful tale of ancient Israel.

Our object in this chapter is to become acquainted with the atmosphere of primitive religion, so that we may estimate faithfully the development of Israel's religion in connection with the social process. The Moabites were neighbors of Israel; and anything that illustrates their practices and

ideas helps us to recover and interpret the social situation in ancient Israel. To this end, we shall find it instructive to examine a few sentences from the famous "Moabite Stone." This remarkable object was discovered in 1868 in the land of Moab. Its language is fundamentally the same as that of the Old Testament Hebrew. The translation of the inscription, which we quote in part, is by Professor Driver, of Oxford University:

> I am Mesha, son Chemosh, king of Moab. . And I made this high-place for Chemosh . . *because he had saved me from all the assailants*. . Omri, king of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days *because Chemosh was angry with his land*. . And *Chemosh said unto me*, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took it and slew the whole of it. . . . . And I took thence the vessels of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built Yahas and abode in it while he fought against me. But *Chemosh drave him out from before me*. . . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonen. . . . . And I went down.[1]

The inscription explains itself. King Mesha and his god Chemosh have been previously introduced by the Old Testament. The attitude of the Moabites toward Chemosh is the same as the earlier attitude of the Israelites toward Yahweh. Chemosh "saves" the Moabites. He is "angry with his land." He "said unto them" to do certain specific things. He "drave out" the enemy. The general atmosphere of the inscription is so much like that of the older documents in the Bible, that if Israelite names were substituted for the Moabite names, one might suppose the inscription to be taken out of the Bible itself.

We have seen that removal from a country was thought to be equivalent to leaving the presence of the god of the land, as in the case of Ruth and Naomi, who thought it a matter

[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, cols. 3045 and 3046. (Italics ours.)

of course to worship the deity of any people among whom they took up their abode. This idea is illustrated impressively by words attributed to David at the time King Saul was pursuing him to take his life: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, *Go serve other gods.* Now therefore *let not my blood fall to the earth away from the presence of Yahweh*" (I Sam. 26:19, 20).[1]

In the early period, the will of Yahweh was discovered mainly by the sacred lot—"Urim and Thummim."—The most common way of "inquiring of Yahweh" was by means of the *ephod.* "And David said to Abiathar the priest, Bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod to David. And David *inquired of Yahweh*" (I Sam. 30:7, 8). What was the *ephod?* If we turn to the story of Gideon, in the Book of Judges, we find that an ephod was made of *metal.*

> And Gideon said unto them, I would make a request of you, that ye would give me every man the ear-rings of his spoil. For they had golden ear-rings. . . . . And they answered, We will willingly give them. And they spread a garment, and did cast therein every man the ear-rings of his spoil. And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold. . . . . And Gideon made an *ephod* thereof, and put it in his city, even in Ophrah (Judg. 8:24–27).

The ephod, then, was made of metal. But what kind of an object was it? And in what way was it used in the process of "consulting Yahweh"? The details are suggested by a passage in the First Book of Samuel, which carries us another step into this interesting subject:

> And Saul said, Draw nigh hither, all ye chiefs of the people, and know and see wherein this sin hath been this day. For, as Yahweh

[1] This translation is given by the English and American Revised versions. The King James Bible renders the second sentence, out of harmony with the thought and atmosphere of the first, as follows: "Let not my blood fall to the earth before the face of the LORD."

liveth, who saveth Israel, though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall surely die. But there was not a man among all the people that answered him. Then said he unto all Israel, Be ye on *one side;* and I and my son Jonathan will be on the *other side.* And the people said unto Saul, Do what seemeth good unto thee. Therefore, Saul said unto Yahweh, the god of Israel, Give a perfect lot. And Jonathan and Saul were taken; but the people escaped. And Saul said, Cast between me and Jonathan my son. And Jonathan was taken (I Sam. 14:38–42).

From this passage, we learn that when people "inquired of Yahweh," they *cast lots.* In the Greek translation of the same passage (the Septuagint), we get a still clearer view of the process of casting lots. For in that version, Saul asks that, if evil be in him or his son, Yahweh will give *Urim;* and that, if evil be in the people of Israel, Yahweh will give *Thummim.* Going back to the Hebrew text, we find that there were three ways of consulting Yahweh: "And when Saul *inquired of Yahweh,* Yahweh answered him not, neither by dreams, *nor by Urim,* nor by prophets" (I Sam. 28:6).

We now have before us the materials for answering our question: The Urim and Thummim were a kind of sacred dice, cast or shaken before a metallic image called an *ephod.* In the time of Judges and Samuel, these objects were a part of the regular machinery of religion. They were used by all the leading men, like David, Saul, and Gideon. While the priest, holding the Urim and Thummim, stood waiting before the ephod-image, the inquiring worshiper would call upon Yahweh, saying, "Show the right!" or, "Give a perfect lot!" just as Saul did in the passage quoted. Then the inquirer would bid the priest to *cast the lot.* The questions addressed to the oracle were always put in a form that could be answered "Yes" or "No" (e.g., I Sam. 23:9–12; 30:7–8). The process of consulting Yahweh could be carried on at an established sanctuary; or, if that were out of the question,

the priest could bring the religious equipment with him to the inquirer. Thus, we read: "It came to pass, when Abiathar . . . . fled to David to Keilah, that he came down with an *ephod* in his hand" (I Sam. 23:6).

This is as near as we can come to a description of the important process of "consulting" Yahweh in his character as a local Semitic deity in ancient Israel. The reason we have so much difficulty in getting a clear idea of the subject is very simple: The Bible was not written for the purpose of giving instruction about such things. It was made for an entirely different end, with other objects in view (see *supra*, chap. iv, "The Making of the Old Testament"). Hence we should not be surprised if it is necessary to go on the track of a subject through a great many chapters and books of the Bible, comparing a large number of passages and verses in order to reach the facts. This matter of the ephod illustrates very well the confusion between *early* and *late* practices. Most readers of the Bible have the impression that the ephod in ancient Israel was always an article of *dress*, worn by the high priest; while the Urim and Thummim have not been connected with anything definite in the lay mind. This is because we get our ideas from the later and more impressive books of the Bible, which are placed at the very beginning of the Old Testament. As a matter of fact, the priest in later Judaism (i.e., after the Babylonian exile) actually wore an article of dress called the "ephod"; while the mysterious Urim and Thummim were kept in a pocket on the front of the ephod, but were no longer used for casting lots in the old heathen fashion (Exod. 28:28–30). The older practice in Judges and Samuel was followed by the leading men of the period; and it was condemned only by such men as the late editor through whom the Book of Judges was compiled.[1]

[1] "And all Israel played the harlot after it . . . . , and it became a snare to Gideon and his house" (Judg. 8:27).

Bible tradition suggests that the cult of Yahweh, in its earlier form, did not originate in Israel.—Most religions of antiquity look upon the gods as the actual, physical ancestors of their worshipers, connected with them by ties of actual kinship. But the Bible declares that Israel and Yahweh became connected by a *covenant*, which was made at a specified moment of time and in a particular place. In the words of Hosea, "I am Yahweh thy god *from the land of Egypt*" (Hos. 12:9). In accordance with this, we are told by the Book of Exodus that Israel and Yahweh entered into a solemn covenant at Mount Horeb-Sinai, just after the exodus from Egyptian territory. The familiar word "testament," in one of its usages, indicates a covenant; and in this way it finds application to the Bible. "I will take you to me for a people; and I will be to you a god" (Exod. 6:7). "And thou, Yahweh, *became* their god" (II Sam. 7:24). Now, the question here is, How came the religion of Israel to have this covenant character? The Old Testament speaks of several transactions between Yahweh and the patriarchs prior to the one at Mount Sinai. But the covenant referred to in the body of the Hexateuch and in the books of the prophets is the Sinai covenant. It is to this that Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophetic writers refer, either expressly or by implication. The covenant of the prophets, as Davidson writes, is the covenant of Sinai, in which Yahweh became the god of Israel.[1] If Yahweh thus became the god of Israel at a certain time and place, it follows, according to the logic of primitive religion, that he must have been connected with some other people before the Israelites entered into relation with him. The Old Testament says that the covenant was made in the Arabian wilderness, prior to the invasion of Canaan. Whatever this transaction was, it lies on the border-

[1] Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York, 1904), p. 246.

land between Israel's prehistoric, nomadic age in the desert and the historic period after the settlement; and there is difficulty in reconstructing its details upon the basis of the evidence at our disposal.

The material referring to this period is of too uncertain a character for us to form a definite idea of the situation; and the history of the Israelites in the Arabian desert must remain shrouded in darkness. We have seen, over and over again, that the Hexateuchal view of the Israelite invasion and settlement of Canaan has much lower historical value than the corresponding narratives in Judges and Samuel; and this consideration, along with many others, leads us to use the Hexateuch with extreme caution at all points. The outstanding impression left upon us, after going over the evidence, is that the cult of Yahweh became current among the Israelites through their contact with a pastoral clan whose wandering ground was in the Sinai peninsula. But Old Testament scholarship is coming to agreement that we cannot envisage the nomadic history of Israel in any clear light. Whatever the covenant in the Arabian desert may have been, the history of Israel in Canaan shows that this transaction was not looked upon as a matter of exceptional meaning or importance for many centuries after the settlement. Covenants admitting strangers to the worship of local gods were frequently made in ancient society. Moreover, a covenant, in primitive religion, carries with it no different idea of *morality* than is provided by the other agencies of early religious life; and there is no ground for the view that this particular covenant, by which the Israelites acquired the primitive cult of Yahweh, brought with it anything new in the sphere of morality or ethics. For Yahweh is interpreted by the great prophets as the patron of that *mishpat*, or customary morality, which is identified with the primitive clan group. It was the forcing of

Amorite law and morals upon the more primitive Israelites that brought the prophets forward as champions of the old *mishpat*, and emphasized Yahweh's relation to the morality of the desert.[1]

[1] While the hypothesis that the cult of Yahweh came to the Israelites through covenant with another clan, the Kenites, appears reasonable, I cannot accept the view of Budde, Harper, and others, that this transaction contained the seeds of Israel's distinctive ethical development. Budde's thesis maintains that the religion of Israel became ethical because it was a religion of *choice*, which established a voluntary relation between a people and its god (as in the case of husband and wife). The Israelites, therefore, having adopted a strange deity, were not well acquainted with their god's ways; and whenever they suffered misfortune, they were driven to ask what they had done to offend this new god, Yahweh. Consequently, they acquired a very tender conscience, which forced them to look well to their conduct. This is an ingenious, but artificial, view of the problem, which is not supported by the facts, and which fails to "explain" Israel's history. Budde's argument for the Kenite derivation of the Yahweh cult is well sustained; but his use of the premises, after obtaining them, has not commended his philosophy to biblical scholars in general.

Budde's theory is no more convincing than the ascription to Moses of the establishment of a nation in the desert, and the consequent broadening of morality beyond the limits of the clan. Even supposing such work to have been done by Moses, it affords no point of departure for the actual process of religious-moral development which took place in the Hebrew nation. More and more it is becoming evident that the historic fact in the Hexateuch is the importation of a desert god and a nomadic morality into the midst of settled, Amorite civilization; and even the Hexateuch itself is not our chief source for this fact. The Judges-Samuel-Kings documents and the prophetic books bear witness to it in more sober terms. The conditions and the demands for the broadening of morality beyond the limits of the clan did not exist until after the Israelite settlement in Canaan. The work of Moses was rather that of introducing or emphasizing the cult of Yahweh than of expounding a new system of ethics; and whatever he may have done, the vital conditions of Hebrew religious development are to be sought in Canaan, and not in the desert. For this process, our chief authorities are the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the various prophets; while the Hexateuch has only a secondary value.

PART III

DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLE RELIGION

FOREWORD TO PART III

In this division of the study we turn to our central theme, the social process through which the religion of the Bible came into the world.

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT

The religion of the Hebrews acquired its distinctive character through a long struggle.—The religion of the Bible was born amid a great warfare. The Hebrew nation was the arena of a mighty struggle whose echoes have resounded through the ages. When we go behind the scenes, and begin to consider the circumstances amid which, and through which, the Bible religion came into the world, we are thrown back upon a local, definite, concrete situation of great interest. Yahweh emerges into distinction through a struggle against the Baal-worship which was derived from the Amorite side of the nation's ancestry. We do not connect him with warfare against Marduk of Babylon, or Amon of Egypt, or any other far-away deity. It is the Baal-idea that serves as the foil against which the Yahweh-idea takes on its distinctive character; and even in the New Testament period the opposition to Yahweh is condensed in Baal-zebub, the prince and leader of all the devils.

The Bible-idea of God arose in connection with social movements.—Sociological study of the Bible is not concerned with the question how religion in general came into the world. It does not undertake to show how the idea of the gods arose. Suffice it to know that all the ancient peoples, including the Hebrews, actually did have gods and religions. Sociological study of the Bible sets out with the idea of the gods as one of its presuppositions—one of the facts, or categories, to be taken for granted at the beginning of the discussion. Religion was in the world many ages before the Hebrew nation was

born. Our problem is not, How did *religion* arise? but, How did *Bible* religion arise?

This religion took form around the idea of "Yahweh." We shall never know how the worship of Yahweh first became current, any more than we can trace the steps by which the Greeks got the worship of Zeus, the Egyptians that of Osiris, or the Babylonians that of Marduk. But there is no evidence that the worship of Yahweh stood at first upon any different footing than did the other cults of the ancient world. To anticipate the argument, we shall see that the Bible religion came into existence by the sifting of ancient religious ideas through the peculiar national experience of the Hebrews. This national experience was unlike that of any other ancient people; and it set the Hebrew mind at work in channels different from those that opened before their contemporaries. We cannot, of course, box the truth within the compass of mere words and phrases. The terms "evolution" and "natural development" are attractive; but they do not solve the problem before us. The problem of the Bible is that of the connections between certain *facts*. What the facts are, we shall see in due course. The religion of the Bible took form gradually through a series of emergencies, or crises, in which the idea of Yahweh passed from stage to stage. The epochs in this process have left their marks in the Bible as clearly as the various geological periods have left their traces in the strata of the earth.

CHAPTER X

THE CONFLICTING STANDPOINTS

The struggle that convulsed the ancient Hebrews was a conflict between the standpoints of nomadism and civilization.—There is a fundamental difference between the standpoint of nomadism and the standpoint of civilization. This difference is involved in the general contrast between society in *motion* and society at *rest*. It is concretely illustrated by the treatment of property in land; for manifestly, one of the distinctions between society in motion and society at rest is in the attitude taken up with reference to external nature.

The very circumstances of nomadic life make it impossible to reduce the earth itself to private or individual property. In the wandering clan, a given territory or district belongs to all in common. Although two clans may, by agreement, respect each other's rights to wander in certain parts of the wilderness, each clan or tribe holds its territory as a common possession. Thus it was among the American Indians, who knew nothing about private property in land before the European settlement; and so it is among all the wandering races of mankind. With reference to the Indians of New England before the coming of the English, we read:

> The Indian did not need much government, and his manner of life did not admit of his being much subjected to its control. . . . . *Personal ownership of land was a conception which had not risen on his mind.* . . . . . For the protection of life and of *hunting-grounds* against an enemy, it was necessary that there should be unity of counsel and of action in a tribe. . . . . The New England Indians had functionaries for such

purposes; the higher class known as *sachems*, the subordinate, or those of inferior note or smaller jurisdiction, as *sagamores*.[1]

The primitive group moves about in search of food, and holds together for purposes of defense. The welfare of the individual is merged in that of the clan. The good fortune of the clan is necessarily the good fortune of all its members; and in the same way, the suffering of the clan is felt by all its members. Although a clan may attack and plunder another group, its very breath of life is justice between its own people. Thus, the English traveler Doughty says of the desert Arabs, among whom he lived:

> The nomad tribes we have seen to be commonwealths of brethren. . . . . They divide each other's losses. . . . . The malicious subtlety of usury [interest] is foreign to the brotherly dealing of the nomad tribesmen. . . . . Their justice is such, that in the opinion of the next governed countries, the Arabs of the wilderness are the justest of mortals. Seldom the judges and elders err, in these small societies of kindred, where the life of every tribesman lies open from his infancy and his state is to all men well known.[2]

Since the territory over which the clan roams is regarded as the common storehouse of provision for everybody in the group, the clan's ideas about "justice" and "right" come to be insensibly and subtly bound up with its relation to the soil. There is, of course, no direct and conscious connection in the group mind between justice and common property in the land. Yet these ideas hang together in a way which the individual member of the group may not be able to state clearly, but which he *feels* instinctively and profoundly.

[1] Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1858), Vol. I, pp. 36, 37, 38; (italics ours), except last two words; cf. Vol. III, p. 138; Vol. IV, pp. 364, 419; cf. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1878), p. 530. Most of the contentions and troubles arising between Indians and white men have turned around land cases, in which the rights of the two races have been the subjects of dispute. Cf. *Reports of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia, Arch St., various dates), *passim*.

[2] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge), Vol. I, pp. 345, 318, 249.

It was in this atmosphere that the nomadic ancestors of the Israelites lived, moved, and had their being. The great bulk of those that settled in the highlands of Canaan retained their clan organization for a long time, and were forced to continue upon a very crude economic level. They carried some of their primitive social justice, or *mishpat*, clear through the times of the "Judges" and the highland kingdom under Saul; while after the establishment of the composite Hebrew monarchy under David, the more backward and remote classes in the nation were still greatly influenced by the ideas and practices of the desert ancestors.

Having glanced at the tendencies which the nation got from the Israelite forefathers, we will now refer to the usages and ideas coming from the other side of its ancestry. The Amorites occupied the cross-roads of ancient Semitic civilization. Their social system was intimately connected with the usages of trade and commerce; and they had left the atmosphere of the desert clan far behind. The Amorites, like the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Egyptians, had long ago reduced land to the category of private property. The civilized oriental believed in law, morals, justice, *mishpat* (whatever term we may use in this connection); but his ideas about such things were a *mystery* to the more backward Semite of the desert and the hills. All the long-settled and civilized races of the Semitic world regarded the soil as an item of commerce, falling within the general category of "property"; and they carried this principle to its logical issue, just as we do in the modern world. They bought, sold, and rented that which the nomad looked upon as the common foundation of life. They made the soil the basis of security for mortgage loans; and the nomad knew little about the mystery of mortgages, and abhorred what little he knew. They charged interest on mortgage loans; and the nomad thought all interest was wicked. Finally, when

mortgages were not paid, the civilized Semite foreclosed by legal process, taking over the property, and sometimes the person of the debtor; and at this point, the mind of the nomad ceased to follow the logic of the situation. While the Amorites were swallowed up in the mass of the Hebrew nation, their *point of view*, and the gods, or Baals, connected with that point of view, remained as factors in Hebrew life and history.

Thus we see how two different standpoints confronted each other during the development of Hebrew nationality at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites. It should be understood that the differences about landed property do not by any means exhaust the case between the morals of nomadism and civilization. The nature of the Hebrew struggle is disclosed only in part by the conflict over the proper treatment of land. For this is but one item in the whole circle of usages and ideas coming under the head of *mishpat*.[1]

[1] It can hardly be by accident that the Amorite Araunah, of Jerusalem, and the Hittite Ephron, of Hebron, readily dispose of their soil (II Sam., chap. 24; Gen., chap. 23), while, on the other hand, the Israelite peasant Naboth is greatly scandalized by Ahab's proposal to buy his patrimonial real-estate. "*Yahweh* forbid it me!" cries Naboth (I Kings 21:1–4). The differences of standpoint cropping out here can hardly be explained as arising from the particular situations. The drift of the Old Testament goes to show that the Israelites brought into the Hebrew nation the idea that the soil was inalienable; whereas, the Amorites, like the Babylonians and Egyptians, had left this idea behind, and regarded land as a lawful item of commerce. One of our critics attempts to make the point that the sentiment against alienation of land in Israel could not be an heirloom from nomadic days, because in the nomadic period there is no land to be alienated. But land is inherited in the nomadic state as much as under settled civilization, though in a different way. Nomadic social groups are always identified with certain districts which the clan, or tribe, holds in common as its absolute property over against other groups. Thus, a given district is continuously "inherited" by the clan from itself. We find this usage among the desert Arabs, the Australian aborigines, the Germanic barbarians, the American Indians, etc. But as nomads pass over into civilization, there is no social machinery by which the soil can be administered as the common property of an entire clan; so the sense of identity with the soil contracts into the family groups whereof the clan is composed; and it becomes a crime, in the eyes of the more primitive classes in the community, to remove a neighbor's landmark. This feeling never operates perma-

In the early narratives of the Hebrew social struggle, the land question is prominent.—According to the accounts in I Samuel, the "perversion" of *mishpat* was one of the causes that led to the setting-up of the Israelite monarchy itself.

> And it came to pass, when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel. . . . . And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted *mishpat*. Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah; and they said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways. Now make us a king to judge us like all the nations (I Sam. 8:1, 3, 4, 5).[1]

In reply to their demand, the people are told that the social system, or *mishpat*, of the kingdom will not be satisfactory. The central feature of Samuel's warning is, that the king will take away the best of their fields, their vineyards, and their oliveyards, and give these lands to the nobles that surround the throne (vs. 14). Along with this, the people will be heavily taxed and reduced to slavery. In other words, we have here a picture of the concentration of landed property, in which the national soil comes into the grasp of the nobility. This, of course, involves the depression of an increasing number of the people into the lower social class. It is this feature of the situation that the prophet Isaiah has in mind when he

nently to stop the reduction of land to individual proprietorship, nor to overcome the concentration of the soil in the hands of an aristocracy.

The process of land concentration had gone so far in Egypt and Babylonia during prehistoric times that when these countries emerge into the light of history their soil is already in the hands of a small upper class. (Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* Chicago, 1906], Vol. I, p. 259; Vol. II, pp. 6, 9, 277; Vol. IV, p. 405; and Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* [New York, 1906], pp. 71–78.)

[1] I Sam., chap. 8, in its present shape, comes no doubt from a time later than that of Samuel; but it admirably summarizes one aspect of Hebrew history from first to last. The supposition is not in any way impossible that Samuel knew about the *mishpat* identified with the kings, or *meleks*, in the neighboring Amorite cities; and it is highly probable that he knew about the unhappy experience of Israel with the half-Amorite *Abi-melek*, of Shechem (Judg., chaps. 8 and 9). Samuel's prejudice against the term *melek*, together with family interest, would be sufficient to give a historical basis for the narrative in which he warns the people against the kingdom.

speaks of "them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room" (Isa. 5:8). And this will be the social system identified with king and kingdom. It will not be a mere matter of individual, or personal, wrong-doing. For the nobles, rulers, and kings, in their capacity as custodians of the law courts, will uphold the *mishpat* of commercial civilization, which the forefathers in the desert knew not.

The conflict of standpoints must be held carefully in view in the present study.—Doughty tells of a quaint argument between one of the nomads and a townsman over the question, "Whether were nigher unto God the life of townsfolk or of the Aarab" (wandering, Bedouin Arabs).[1] The contention of the nomad, of course, was in favor of his own class. For, according to his view, the dwellers in the Arabian desert were more righteous and "nearer to God" than the inhabitants of Arabian towns and cities like Mecca and Medina. A great deal may no doubt be said for such a view. But, fundamentally, human nature is precisely the same in both cases. The differences of practice and view arise largely out of differences of external condition. The wandering life and the settled state respectively imply unlike institutions; and these different social arrangements (or *mishpats*) give rise to unlike practices, and lead to conflicting ideas about what is *right* in a given situation.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[2] Writing on Arabia before Islam, Winckler says, "The feud between the Bedouins and the settled population was never checked. . . . . The tribal organization, indeed, which lies at the root of the Bedouin life, was not abandoned as rapidly as the towns were captured."—*Helmolt's History of the World* (New York, 1903), Vol. III, pp. 239–40. Hommel observes that "the Assyrian inscriptions of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. mention a whole host of nomadic Aramean tribes who inhabited the narrow strip of desert between the Tigris and the Elamite highlands. . . . . These Arameans would seem to have offered the same resistance to Babylonian civilization as was always displayed by the Bedouin Arab tribes in Palestine."—*Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (London, 1897), p. 206. See also Budde's "Nomadic Ideal," in the *New World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1895).

The foregoing illustration from desert life agrees closely with what the Bible has to tell us about the practices and ideas of the Israelite clans after they left the Arabian wilderness. Some continued to be shepherds and cattlemen. Others became tillers of the soil. City life was monopolized, or pre-empted, by the Amorites, who held the strong, fortified places and the adjacent villages and fields, and melted slowly into the new population. Thus the hill dwellers in the Hebrew nation were shut away from the commercial and capitalistic standpoint; and they never developed an active, oriental city life down to the last. "The great mass of the people," as Kittel observes, "retained their simple ways and life, especially in the country and in small towns."[1]

So we see that, although the distinction between Israelite and Amorite was at length wiped out, the social struggle unconsciously followed the original race lines. The moral codes of the city capitalist and the nomad were brought into active collision within the limits of one and the same social group. Two different standpoints were brought into sharp contrast in the development of the Hebrew nation. This fundamental variance comes to the surface over and over again. Thus, the social classes identified with the large centers of population are actively and uniformly opposed in the name of Yahweh, by the great literary prophets.[2] Even the legends of the Hexateuch are strongly colored by the same reaction. Accordingly, when the children of men propose to build a city, Yahweh looks with no favor upon the enterprise. "So Yahweh scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off building the city" (Gen. 11:8). Abraham the nomad, who lives in tents, is the friend of Yahweh; but the Amorites, who live in the cities of Canaan, are very wicked; and when "the iniquity of the

[1] Kittel, *History of the Hebrews* (London, 1896), Vol. II, p. 297.

[2] We shall go into this more fully elsewhere in the present study.

Amorite is full," the descendants of Abraham shall possess the land (Gen. 15:12–15). Yahweh tells Abraham that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah are so wicked that they must be destroyed. Abraham pleads for the preservation of Sodom if a few righteous men be found in it. But the cities are blotted out. We think at once how this old legend reflects the idea of the prophet Jeremiah: "Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that doeth *mishpat*, that seeketh faithfulness; and I will pardon her" (Jer. 5:1). Yahweh accepts the offering of the shepherd Abel, who brings the sacrifice customary among nomads; while Cain, who brings the offering of the settled worker on the soil, is rejected (Gen., chap. 4). The Book of Genesis, being written at a late epoch, reflects the struggle of the prophets against the practices and ideas of their times.

Hebrew national evolution differed slightly from that of other ancient peoples, and is directly connected with the religious peculiarity of the Hebrews.—While we must hold the conflict of standpoints carefully in mind in the present study, we should realize that the economic struggle between civilization and nomadism was not peculiar to the Hebrews. It is not in the economics of the situation, but in the *sociology*—the *group*-development—that the distinction of the Hebrews comes into view. An illustration is useful here. While all the oak leaves in the world resemble each other, and conform to the same general pattern, yet no two oak leaves have ever been found exactly alike. The universe in which we live contains endless possibilities of new combinations, involving departure, or variation, from the rule. Thus, the great, fundamental facts of social evolution are everywhere the same; yet no two nations ever went through *exactly* the same social process. A slight variation, one way or another, is always to be found. Now, it is the "variations" that are of

epoch-making importance in all processes of development. The rise and progress of the Hebrew national group was a little different from the social evolution of any other people, ancient or modern. We have previously referred to this consideration (cf. *supra*, pp. xxix–xxx); and we shall need to hold it prominently in mind in our sociological study of the Bible.

Two instances arise at once for comparison, the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, and the Hyksos conquest of Egypt. In both cases there is an objective resemblance to the Israelite conquest of Canaan. For the Kassites and the Hyksos, like the Israelites, were primitive peoples who succeeded in conquering settled and civilized races. But the sociological parallel ends here. The Kassites and Hyksos found group-mechanisms *already established* in Babylonia and Egypt; and the invaders were compelled to adapt themselves to the social structure of the conquered races. But in the case of the Israelites, it was the *invaders*, and not the earlier population, that supplied the national government and the national deity. A desert god was imported abruptly into the midst of civilization.

As a result of this peculiar interweaving of circumstances, that part of the nation in which the *Amorite* tendency was the stronger wanted to worship the national god in the character of an ordinary, "civilized" Baal, who countenanced the social system of civilization, with its universal slavery and its disregard of the common man. But on the contrary, that part of the nation where the old *Israelite* tendency was the more powerful wanted to claim the national god as the patron of the old, brotherhood *mishpat.* One party was obstinately determined upon calling Yahweh a *Baal;* and the other party was equally determined upon maintaining the distinction between the national god and the Baals of the Amorites. As a consequence, the evolution of Yahweh from a god of nomadism into a god of "civilization" was *obstructed.* The religious

development of the Hebrews issued in what is called a "cross-fertilization of culture," which avoided the vices of civilization and nomadism, and combined their virtues.

The novelty of the situation lay in the fact that here, for the first time in human history, the struggle between social classes found a parallel in the contrast between religious traditions. The peculiar conflict of religious traditions gave expression to the social struggle and at length became the *symbol* of that struggle. In the midst of this deeply moving national experience, the better Hebrew minds found the stimuli which prompted them to work out along a new line of thought.[1]

[1] The scientific question here is distinct from the profounder problem of religion and theology; and the progress of research ought to make it increasingly so. From the scientific standpoint, the most that we can do is to discover the facts, and set them in their actual, historical relations to each other. Beyond this attempt, science may not go. For a scientific investigator to dogmatize about the metaphysical possibilities of the case is just as illiberal as the most narrow traditionalism of the old school. Let the facts, or categories, of Hebrew history be reduced to their barest and most rationalistic terms; and we may, even then, hold without fear of contradiction that the personal God of the universe was at work *within those terms*, in a way that we cannot understand any more than we can comprehend how our own personality works within the terms of our daily experience. We know empirically that the facts of "personality" and "natural law" are united; and this practical knowledge is virtually taken up by religious faith and thrown over into the field of universal being in the form of a postulate. The writer has made a statement of his position in the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago), April, 1908.

CHAPTER XI

PEOPLES AND GODS IN THE JUDGES PERIOD

The first experiences of the Israelites in Canaan.—The age of the Judges, or *shophetim*,[1] extends from the Israelite invasion of the land up to the founding of the monarchy under Saul. Our chief source of information for this long stretch of time is the Book of Judges and the first eight chapters of I Samuel. This interesting period of history was a time of martial deeds and thrilling adventures. An atmosphere of romance hangs over it such as we find in the early tales of Rome, the Sagas of the Norsemen, and the *Iliad* of the Greeks. The figures of mighty heroes loom before us—Barak and Gideon and Jephthah and Samson and Samuel. Great men move to and fro through the shadows of that early era; and we feel the spell of its fascination as we turn the pages of the Bible story.

Certain historical factors are projected into sharp relief in the Judges period, the Israelites and Yahweh; the Amorites and the Baals.—On the one side are the Israelite clans, in the hill-country and extending out in the direction of the wilderness on the east and south. On the other side are the Amorites, chiefly in the lowlands, holding the strong, fortified cities and the adjacent villages and fields. These two peoples lived in proximity for some time before they came under the cover of one political roof and melted into the social organism of the Hebrew nation.

In the same way, the *cults* of these two peoples were entirely distinct at the outset. The worship of Yahweh was identified

[1] Pronounced, sho-fet-*eem*. The final syllable is the masculine plural, and takes the accent. Compare "cherub" and "cherubim."

with the Israelites and their social usages. Likewise, the worship of the Baals was identified with the Amorites and *their* usages, having been practiced in the land of Canaan time out of mind. In brief, just as there was a distinction between the two *peoples* in the early history, so there was an equally sharp distinction between their gods.

Hostility between Yahweh and Baal is connected with antagonism between Israelite and Amorite.—"Ye shall not fear the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell" (Judg. 6:10). The characteristic warfare between religious worships in the Bible is not between that of Yahweh and that of the Babylonian Marduk, or the Egyptian Amon, or the Assyrian Ashur. On the contrary, as everyone will remember who has read the Bible carefully, the great, outstanding struggle is between Yahweh and the neighboring Baals. Now these deities are precisely the gods of the races that were brought into hostile contact by the Israelite invasion of Canaan. "The contest with the Canaanite religion," as Marti says, "naturally played an important part in the struggle for the possession of the country."[1] First and last, the Baals are the divinities against which the champions of Yahweh spend their force. The local Baals of Canaan are, so to speak, the *villains* in the mighty drama of the Bible. The term Baal, in fact, becomes a characteristic mark of antagonism to Yahweh; and it survives in the New Testament and in Christian theology in the name of God's great adversary, Beelzebub, "the prince of devils."[2]

The Book of Judges unrolls a dramatic picture before us: Two races are on the stage. Two series of hostile social groups are placed over against each other in the same small territory

[1] Marti, *The Religion of the Old Testament* (London, 1907), p. 98.

[2] Cf. Matt. 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; Luke 16:15, 18, 19. Baal-zebub was god of the Philistine city of Ekron, adjacent to Israelite territory. Cf. II Kings 1:2, 3, 6, 16. The Philistines were active enemies of Israel for many years. We cannot discover by what obscure association of ideas this particular Baal condensed within himself the leadership in the "opposition" to Yahweh.

—the one chiefly in the highlands; the other chiefly in the lowlands. At that period of human history, politics and religion were closely connected. Church and State were simply the obverse and reverse aspects of the same thing. The gods were looked upon as members of the social groups that worshiped them; and in all matters of importance the gods were consulted by casting lots or otherwise. In view of this intimacy between religion and politics, the hostility of social groups against each other drew along with it the antagonism of the respective gods. Herein we find one of the sources of the idea of "war between the gods." In the light of this consideration, the meaning of the title the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" is not mysterious (Num. 21:14). For the battles of Israel are actually called "Yahweh's battles" (I Sam. 18:17; 25:28). In harmony with this principle, during the wars between Rome and Carthage, Hannibal the Carthaginian stood before the altar of his ancestral god and swore eternal hatred for the people and the gods of Rome. In the story of David and Goliath, we read that the Philistine cursed David by his gods; while David replied that he came in the name of Yahweh of hosts, the god of the armies of Israel. Thus we see that there is nothing unusual about the mere idea of rivalry, or antagonism, between Yahweh and the Baals as involved in the hostility between Israelites and Amorites. This, however, is only a small part of the story; for these gods already symbolized the clashing standpoints of nomadism and civilization.[1]

[1] The Israelites may possibly have had memories of a reaction against the gods and the usages of Egypt; but our best point of departure in the present study is the Judges period, which lies more clearly in the light of history than the far-away times contemplated by the Hexateuch. In *any* case, we begin with cultural and military antagonism between social groups. The references to Egypt in the earlier narratives of the Old Testament are scanty and uncertain. The Egyptian bondage is discussed only in *later* documents, such as those of Exodus, which are heavily encrusted with miracle (cf. chap. iv, "The Making of the Old Testament"). We have already seen that the Hexateuch views the origin of the Hebrew nation, and the Israelite conquest of Canaan, out of their true historical relations (cf. chap. ii).

The Yahweh-Baal conflict in the Judges period stands in isolation from the later, "prophetic" struggle against Baal worship.—The clash between the cults of Yahweh and the Baals is noticed widely throughout the Old Testament; but at this early point in our study, it becomes our duty to emphasize that the references to the struggle have a *peculiar distribution* corresponding to the peculiar national experience around which the Bible turns.

Thus, a number of passages occur in the Book of Judges, and the opening chapters of I Samuel, with reference to Israelite reaction against the cults of the Amorites. These passages begin with Judg. 2:11, and end with I Sam. 7:4. While they admit the compromise of Israel with the cults of the Baals, they put stress upon the *rejection* of Baalism by the Israelites. According to the final notice in the series, the children of Israel put away the Baals and served Yahweh only. It should be emphasized that all these passages refer to the period *before* the Israelites and Amorites united to form the Hebrew nation. Having laid stress upon this fact, the importance of which will become clear as our study proceeds, we go on to point out another equally striking consideration. And this is, that setting out from the last of the notices referred to (I Sam. 7:4), we read forward in Samuel and Kings through an expanse of *two thousand verses*, representing a period of about two centuries, in which there is no reference to the gods of the Amorites. At the end of this period, the prophet Elijah suddenly comes before King Ahab, saying, "Thou hast followed the Baals" (I Kings 18:18). A little farther on we read that Ahab "did very abominably in following idols, according to all that the Amorites did" (I Kings 21:26). From this point onward in Kings we hear a great deal about the Yahweh-Baal struggle. It may be asked now, Upon what principle is this peculiar distribution of notices determined? This question will go with us.

In the meanwhile, stepping outside the Judges-Samuel-Kings narratives, we find equally striking facts in the writings of the prophets who came after Elijah. This great prophet was followed in the next century (the eighth) by Hosea, who also worked in the Northern Kingdom; and the book ascribed to Hosea puts the opposition between Yahweh and the Baals into the foreground of its treatment. On the other hand, the books of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah (prophets who lived in Judah, the Southern Kingdom, during the same century with Hosea) have nothing to say about the Baals! But coming down to Jeremiah, who worked in Judah in the seventh and sixth centuries, we find the same stress upon the Baals that appears in Hosea! What is the basis of these phenomena? Is it a mere matter of individual genius? or does it stand in the historical situation? This question is an item in the problem raised by the distribution of Baal-emphasis in the Judges-Samuel-Kings documents.[1]

The Deuteronomic view of the Yahweh-Baal conflict in the Judges period.—According to the Deuteronomic editor, whose hand is visible in the Book of Judges and as far as I Sam. 7:4, the early history of Israel was marked by repeated compromise with Amorite Baalism, followed in each case by sharp reaction against it. Upon this view, the pre-national experience of Israel in Canaan resolved itself into recurring cycles which are described in a general way by the Deuteronomist as follows:

(1) *Baalism*

And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served the Baals. And they forsook Yahweh, the god of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the peoples that were round about them, and bowed themselves down unto them (Judg. 2:11 f.).

[1] The Book of Deuteronomy is intensely preoccupied with the struggle of Yahweh against "other gods"; and it scarcely uses the term Baal. Nevertheless, as the context shows, it is the local gods of the Amorites that are chiefly in the writer's mind. See Deut. 6:14, 15, and 12:2, 3, 29–31, and 31:16. We shall recur to Deuteronomy in a later part of our study.

(2) *Punishment*

And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel; and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them. And he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies (vs. 14).

(3) *Deliverance*

And Yahweh raised up judges who saved them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. . . . . And when Yahweh raised them up judges, then Yahweh was with the judge, and saved them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge (vss. 16, 18).

According to this interpretation, the Judges period resolved itself into successive cycles of Baalism, Punishment, and Deliverance; and in the final notice of the series we read that Israel put away the Baals and served Yahweh only (I Sam. 7:4). *If* these recurring suppressions of Amorite Baalism be literal history, then there is no difficulty about the initial stage of the religious process in Canaan: the tradition of Yahweh's hostility against the local Baals runs parallel to the antagonism between social groups and gives expression to group-hostility.

But the editor whose comments are inserted in the books of Judges and Samuel, views that period from the standpoint of the Book of Deuteronomy, which was first published a generation before the Babylonian exile. In that important work, the penalty for worshiping other gods is all kinds of *misfortune* (Deut. 11:26–29; 28:14–68). Among other evils, "Yahweh will cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies. Thou shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven ways before them" (28:25). Looking at the traditions and stories coming down from the Judges period, the Deuteronomic editor finds that his ancestors were afflicted and oppressed by foreigners, and that they were delivered by warlike leaders, who rallied them to battle in the name of Yahweh. In harmony with the Deuteronomic ideas, he reasons that the early Israelites could not have had misfortune *unless* they had forgotten Yahweh and served other gods. He therefore draws

the inference that the periodical oppressions of early Israel constitute first-class evidence of Baalism. Accordingly, he brings together a number of old Israelite stories about the Judges period, and connects these interesting stories by comments of his own, which are obviously far later than the stories themselves; and the result is the Book of Judges, which was prepared at a late period as a work of religious edification. In the general introduction to his book (from which we have already quoted, *supra*), the editor states the philosophy of the Judges period as an oscillation between Yahwism and Baalism; and whenever he sees an opportunity, he inserts the formula, "Now the children of Israel did evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served the Baals. . . . . Then they were oppressed [by such and such a people]. . . . . Then they were delivered [by so and so]."[1] These editorial observations constitute what modern scholars call the "framework," the original narratives being compressed within the framework. The method of the Deuteronomic editor of Judges is perfectly clear; but his *results* are doubtful.

The sociological view of the Yahweh-Baal conflict in the Judges period.—The stories in the books of Judges and Samuel are interspersed by *eight* editorial notices in which the Israelites are said to have gone over to the worship of the Amorite Baals.[2] But it should be distinctly understood that in *five* out of these eight cases there is absolutely no reference to any connection between the Israelites and the Amorites; while in the remaining cases, although the two peoples are in contact, the prevailing atmosphere is that of alienation and war between them.[3] In other words, wherever there is

[1] This description will serve in a general way to represent the modern critical view of Judges; but the book itself shows that the process by which it reached its present form was even more complex.

[2] (1) Judg. 3:7 f.; (2) 3:12 f.; (3) 4:1 f.; (4) 6:1 f.; (5) 8:33 f.; (6) 10:6 f.; (7) 13:1 f.; (8) I Sam. 7:4.

[3] Nos. 3, 4, and 5 in the preceding note. In No. 3, the Israelites defeat the Amorites at Esdraelon; in No. 4, the two peoples are alien; and in No. 5, although there is a temporary understanding, the Israelites finally destroy the Amorites of

an opportunity to study the local situation, as concerns the Israelites and Amorites, the two peoples are still sundered by hatred. In spite of the sweeping editorial statement that the Israelites promptly intermarried with the inhabitants of Canaan (Judg. 3:5, 6), we find only one illustration, and that a case of the long-distance, or *sadika*, marriage, in which the woman remains with her own people apart from her husband (Judg. 8:31). The actual circumstances of the pre-national period could hardly have been so regular and systematic as the editor of Judges and Samuel supposes. While there was undoubtedly a certain measure of accommodation between the newer and older inhabitants; and while some of the Israelites may have worshiped the Baals during this period; the outstanding feature of the Judges epoch is the hostile contact of alien social groups. Hence, no matter how much there may be in the Deuteronomic idea of a recurrent "putting-away" of the Amorite gods, the tradition of Yahweh's early enmity against the local Baals is chiefly attested and guaranteed by the principle of *group-antagonism.*

A tabular exhibit of collisions between Israelites and Amorites in the Judges period, and extending into the time of the early monarchy, is instructive:

TABLE I

AMORITES VANQUISHED BY ISRAEL

1.	Amorites of	*Hebron*	(Judg. 1:10)
2.	"	" *Kiriath-sepher*	(Judg. 1:11–15)
3.	"	" *Zephath*	(Judg. 1:17)
4.	"	" *Beth-el*	(Judg. 1:22–26)
5.	"	" *Shechem*	(Judg. 9:45)
6.	"	" *Laish*	(Judg. 18:27)
7.	"	*under Sisera*	(Judg., chaps. 4 and 5)

Shechem. Kittel writes, "It is noteworthy that the statements [about Baal worship] are confined exclusively to these late narrators. Accordingly there are remarkably few concrete facts adduced in support of them."—*History of the Hebrews* (London, 1888), Vol. II, pp. 97, 98. Kautsch says, "The picture which the Deuteronomic redactor of the Book of Judges sketches . . . . is not true to the historical reality."—Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (ext. vol.), p. 645.

TABLE II

Amorites Unconquered, but Later Fused with Israel

1.	Amorites of	*Beth-shean*	(Judg. 1:27)
2.	"	" *Taanach*	" "
3.	"	" *Dor*	" "
4.	"	" *Ibleam*	" "
5.	"	" *Megiddo*	" "
6.	"	" *Gezer*	(Judg. 1:29)
7.	"	" *Kitron*	(Judg. 1:30)
8.	"	" *Nahalol*	" "
9.	"	" *Acco*	(Judg. 1:31)
10.	"	" *Ahlab*	" "
11.	"	" *Achzib*	" "
12.	"	" *Helbah*	" "
13.	"	" *Aphik*	" "
14.	"	" *Rehob*	" "
15.	"	" *Beth-shemesh*	(Judg. 1:33)
16.	"	" *Beth-anath*	" "
17.	"	" *Heres*	(Judg. 1:34, 35)
18.	"	" *Aijalon*	" "
19.	"	" *Shaalbim*	" "
20.	"	" *Hazor*	(Judg. 4:17)
21.	"	" *Jerusalem*	(Judg. 19:10–12)
22.	"	" *Gibeon*	(II Sam. 21:1–2)

From these tables it will be seen that the original victories over the Amorites were confined to the *hill-country*. The larger part of the earlier inhabitants were, indeed, unconquered by the Israelites.[1]

[1] In this connection, it is important to notice that all the sanctuaries of Yahweh that are "authenticated" by the Book of Genesis are in the field of the first and smaller, table, being found in the highlands (Gen. 12:6; 12:8; 13:18; 21:33; 26:23–25; 28:18–19; 32:30–31; 33:18–20; 35:1, 14, 15; 46:1). The first book of the Old Testament is frequently referred to in a general and vague way as evidence that the sanctuaries "taken over" by Israel from the Amorites were later believed to have been the scene of Yahweh theophanies during patriarchal times. In reality, Genesis agrees with Judges in respect of the partial nature of the conquest. The Genesis legends confine themselves to a few places in the hill-country; and, excepting the story of Melchizedek, the patriarchal stories are not brought into connection with the strong, walled cities of Table II. This is a good indication of the trustworthy character of the stories in Genesis; but it gives no support to modern theories of a wholesale validation of Amorite shrines by Hebrew tradition.

All the leading Israelites in the Judges period were men of the hill-country.—In accordance with the limited nature of the Israelite conquest, the chiefs and heroes of the Judges period were invariably men of the uplands. Thus, Othniel was connected with the clan of Caleb in the hills of Judah. Ehud lived in the highlands of Ephraim. Here also dwelt the famous Deborah, in whose day the Amorites gathered themselves together to make one last, mighty struggle before acquiescing in Israel's presence. A great battle took place in the plain of Esdraelon. Two accounts of this action have come down to us, the one in prose (Judg., chap. 4), the other in poetry (Judg., chap. 5, the "Deborah Song"). In the latter account, we see that the Israelites had no national organization at this time. Only five of their clans are mentioned as being represented in the army (Judg. 5:14, 15); while five other Israelite clans are blacklisted "because they came not to the help of Yahweh against the mighty" (vss. 15–17, 23).

The great battle at Esdraelon left the distribution of the two races unchanged; but it confirmed the title of the Israelite clans to the hill-country. So, as we continue onward in the Book of Judges, the hero Gideon is found in the little village of Ophrah in the hills of Ephraim. Tola dwells also in the same region. Jair and Jephthah are located in the hills of Gilead. Ibzan is at Bethlehem, in the hills of Judah. Abdon is an Ephraimite. Samson lives in the village of Zorah, which lies on a hill west of Jerusalem. After the Samson stories, the remaining chapters of Judges take us once more through the hills of Ephraim. The attitude of these hill clans toward the Amorite settlements finds a good illustration in the case of a certain Levite. Without going into the preliminary details, we quote:

> He rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus (the same is Jerusalem). . . . . When they were by Jebus, the day was far spent.

And the slave said unto his master, Come, I pray you, and let us turn aside into this city of the Jebusites, and lodge in it. And his master said unto him, *We will not turn aside into the city of a foreigner that is not of the children of Israel;* but we will pass over to Gibeah . . . . and we will lodge in Gibeah or in Ramah (Judg. 19:10–13; italics ours).

The city of Jerusalem is bound up so closely with the name of Israel that this passage comes before the reader for the first time with the effect of a shock. Here we discover this well-known place to be a *foreign* city far down in the Judges period, long after the Israelites had settled in Canaan. Here it stands amid the shadows of advancing night. As the sun sinks in the west, the city walls rise, black and forbidding, in front of the travelers. The Israelite will not trust himself to lodge there, so he continues on through the footpaths in the hills as the darkness falls. The highlands, then as now, stood round about Jerusalem. The Jebusite inhabitants of the city were merely a branch of the Amorites. This is remembered by the prophet Ezekiel when he writes, "Thus saith the lord Yahweh to Jerusalem, Thine origin and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite. The *Amorite* was thy father" (Ezek. 16:3, 45; italics ours).[1]

The only attempt at political union between Israelites and Amorites in the Judges period was a failure.—The early chapters of Judges contain the well-known tales about the hero Gideon (chaps. 6 ff.). The stories relating to Gideon and his son Abimelek are in some confusion; but the sociological factors are quite certain. On the one hand was the Israelite clan of Abiezer, living in the hills of Ephraim, with their headquarters at the village of Ophrah. They were farmers and shepherds, depending upon their fields and cattle for a living. On the other hand, in the valley below Ophrah, was the Amorite city of Shechem, whose inhabitants depended

[1] The terms Canaanite and Amorite are used in the same sense by different Old Testament writers; and we shall employ the shorter term as far as possible in the present study.

in part upon the fertile fields outside the city, and in part upon the commerce that flowed through their valley.

An adjustment of some kind was arranged between Gideon's Israelites and the Amorites of Shechem. The leading men on both sides reached an understanding. Gideon took a secondary wife, or concubine, from one of the families of Shechem—a kind of "state-marriage"; and the woman remained with her own folk in the city. Both Israelites and Amorites worshiped the same divinity, who was known as the god, or master of the "covenant" (*berith*, Judg. 8:33; 9:46). The covenant church was near Shechem. Gideon had considerable influence among the Israelites in central Ephraim. When the Midianites from the desert came up against the land after the manner of Israel at an earlier day, "Gideon sent messengers throughout all the hill-country of Ephraim, saying, Come down against Midian" (7:24). He fought these invaders from the wilderness of Arabia not only on behalf of Israel, but on behalf of the Amorites of Shechem as well (9:17).

It is impossible to discover just what kind of an understanding existed between the two peoples. Whatever it was, the political power of Gideon was of sufficient importance to become the subject of dispute after his death. On the surface, the controversy was a personal quarrel; but the question at issue was whether the seat of government should continue in the hands of Gideon's family at Ophrah, or whether the government should be in the hands of the Amorites at Shechem. In order to accomplish their purpose, the Amorites made use of Abimelek, the son of Gideon's concubine. He was given a fund, or subsidy, out of the church treasury, "wherewith Abimelek hired vain and light fellows, who followed him. And he went unto his father's house in Ophrah, and slew his brethren . . . . three-score and ten persons" (9:1 f.). This put the balance of power into the hands of the Amorites, leaving them in possession of the only living heir of Gideon.

Accordingly, "all the men of Shechem assembled themselves together . . . . and went and made Abimelek *king* by the oak of the pillar that was in Shechem. . . . . And Abimelek was prince over *Israel* three years" (9:6, 22). This is a very noteworthy situation. The Amorite voters elected a king who reigned not only over Shechem but over the Israelites in the hills near the city. What we have here, of course, is merely a local kingdom in the heart of Ephraim. Abimelek did not rule over "all Israel"; but even so, the experiment is highly instructive and full of meaning.

Judging by the brief reign of Abimelek, the rule of the city of Shechem could not have been very stable. For trouble soon arose between the Shechemites and their half-breed ruler. The king withdrew his residence, and put the city in charge of a lieutenant. Abimelek was now repudiated by the same Shechemite aristocracy that had elevated him to the throne. After this, Abimelek made terms with the Israelites, led them against the Amorites, and reduced the city of Shechem to ruins. "And Abimelek fought against the city. . . . . And he took the city, and slew all the people that were therein. And he beat down the city and sowed it with salt" (9:45). Moreover, he burned the great Tower of Shechem, which was outside the city, "so that all the men of the Tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women" (vs. 49). Carrying the war to another Amorite city in the neighborhood, he met his death; "and when all the men of Israel saw that Abimelek was dead, they departed every man unto his place" (vs. 55).[1]

Thus we see that the only attempt at political union between Israelites and Amorites in the Judges period was a disastrous failure. The dark outcome of the kingdom of

[1] An echo of this situation is found in the traditions of Genesis (chap. 34). The Amorites of Shechem enter into covenant with the Israelites; but the covenant is broken by Simeon and Levi, who go into the city and murder all the male Shechemites.

Shechem seems to have discouraged experiments in state-making for a long time afterward. Each side had been treacherous and brutal. When the awful story was noised about the land, it could hardly have been a factor in softening race-hatreds. Israelites would be afraid to trust Amorites, because the men of Shechem had subsidized the slaughter of Gideon's family at Ophrah. On the other hand, Amorites would be afraid to trust Israelites, because Gideon's clan had wiped out the city of Shechem.

During the Judges period, the Israelites remained in the clan stage of social development.—The primitive social organization of Israel was continued through the Judges period. Although the outward aspects of society in this epoch were barbaric and rough, the internal aspects of life, as touching the relations of the men of a clan to each other, had a strong *moral quality*. Those who treat the age as a time in which there was no organization of the moral feelings, do so from the standpoint of our advanced modern conscience. For no social group is ever without ethical feelings embodied in its usages; and no ancient clan could maintain its integrity without customary laws and regulations to which powerful moral sentiments attached.[1]

The Israelites of the Judges period were forced to keep up their clan organizations by the pressure of their enemies the Amorites, Moabites, Midianites, Philistines, etc. (Judg., chaps. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 20; I Sam., chaps. 4, 5, 6, 7). It was by means of their clan solidarity that the Israelites were able to cope with enemies and occasionally to fight with each other. The sentiment of loyalty to the clan group, and the feeling of mutual duty among the members of the fellowship, were some of the great ruling forces of society in the pre-national

[1] The expression with which the Book of Judges comes to an end, "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes," is the statement of a late compiler, and is at variance with the clear testimony of the fundamental, early documents inclosed within the editorial framework.

epoch. It was along this route that the dotcrine of human brotherhood passed through the course of its evolution from its narrow beginnings in blood-revenge up to the parable of the Good Samaritan. It was the feeling of outraged brotherhood that nerved Gideon to retaliate upon the Midianites for the death of his kinsmen: "They were my brethren, the sons of my mother" (Judg. 8:19). The Benjamites were attacked by a coalition of other Israelite clans because they refused to give up their brethren for punishment (Judg. 20: 12–14).[1]

Yahweh in the Judges period remained a god of the primitive, brotherhood "mishpat."—We have seen that religion and politics are always identified in ancient society, and that all social customs and usages fall under the purview of the gods (chaps. viii, x, *supra*). The *mishpat* of Israel in the nomadic. desert life was connected with Yahweh as a matter of course; and this whole circle of primitive law and morality (with modifications due to the changed environment) continued to be identified with Yahweh throughout the Judges period. The judge administered his office in the name of Yahweh. The clan courts regularly dispensed *mishpat* at this time (Judg. 3:10; 4:4, 5; 10:3; 12:7, 9, 11, 13, 14; I Sam. 7:15–17); and it was the corruption of the courts, and the "perversion" of *mishpat*, that led, among other causes, to the popular demand for a king (I Sam. 8:1–5). The judge was known in the Hebrew language as a *shophet*. His act of judgment was expressed by *shaphat;* while the usages to which he referred as precedents were designated by the now familiar word *mishpat*, which is derived from the same root as the other two terms.

[1] It is to be noticed that the original circumstance around which the situation turns is the maltreatment and murder of a woman of the clan of Judah by certain Benjamites (Judg. 19:1, 2 f.). A number of hill clans thereupon unite in a demand upon the murderers' clan for their punishment. This is refused by the Benjamites, who thus become partners with the murderers. The ensuing attack on the clan of Benjamin is led by the woman's own people (Judg. 20:18).

The Judges period as a whole has an important place in the development of Bible religion. Yahweh, the god of the brotherhood *mishpat*, was clearly set off in contrast with the local Baals of the Amorites. This initial emphasis upon the distinction between the gods would have been lost if the Israelites had all promptly settled down, and adopted the gods and the standpoint of advanced, oriental civilization. Although at a subsequent period the worship of Yahweh was brought more closely into contact with the cults of the local deities, the historical memories of the Judges epoch, charged with the idea of Yahweh's distinction from the gods of the land, influenced the mind of later generations.[1]

At the close of the Judges period there was a treaty of peace between Israelites and Amorites.—As the time of the monarchy draws near, there comes before us a highly significant notice touching the relations between the newer and the older inhabitants of Canaan. This notice occurs in the midst of the disjoined stories about the Philistine wars, and is as follows: "*And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites*" (I Sam. 7:14). The two races were thus laying aside their hatred, and making treaties of peace. With this happy suggestion of concord, the age of the Judges draws on to a close.

[1] The name Jerubbaal, identified with Gideon, has been cited to show that the term Baal was applied to Yahweh at this time. But there are many more instances of names containing Yahweh than there are of names containing Baal. Gideon himself had a son whose name was Jotham (Judg. 9:5). The name Jonathan, meaning "Yahweh has given," was borne by a Danite priest (Judg. 18:30). The sons of Samuel were called Joel and Abijah, signifying respectively "Yahweh is god" and "Yahweh is father" (I Sam. 8:2).

CHAPTER XII

SAUL'S KINGDOM IN THE HILLS

The Israelite monarchy was at first a highland organization, having no capital city, and standing apart from the Amorites.— One of the forces leading to the development of the Hebrew nation was the pressure of hostile groups outside the territory of Israel. Chief among these were the Philistines. In the same way, the American colonies were brought together by the pressure of England. Likewise, Germany was consolidated by the hostility of Austria and France. This principle is of wide application in the development of social groups. Saul's kingdom was an Israelite undertaking, carried through without reference to the Amorites. This was in sharp contrast with the earlier movement under Abimelek, in which the two races came together, but failed to make a permanent organization. The kingdom of Abimelek was, indeed, an abortive undertaking, "born out of due time." But Saul's kingdom was a less ambitious project than Abimelek's, for it was limited to the Israelite clans of the hill-country. Abimelek had his capital in the Amorite walled city of Shechem; but the simple headquarters of Saul were at a country village in the Israelite highlands. Although a treaty of peace had been recently made between the two races, the hour for their union had not yet struck. The kingdom of Saul is interestingly treated by the First Book of Samuel, from chap. 8 forward to the close of the book.

The peace treaty with the Amorites was broken by King Saul.— The first Israelite king was unable to overcome his prejudice against the Amorite, as the following passage indicates: "Now the Gibeonites were not of the children of Israel, but

of the remnant of the Amorites. And the children of Israel had sworn unto them. But Saul sought to slay them in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah" (II Sam. 21:2).[1] The perfidy of Saul and his followers had, of course, the effect of delaying the union of the races. Once more the news of Israelite vindictiveness was carried through the lowlands, and heard by the Amorites with horror. The Israelite clans had begun the trouble in the first place by attacking the country and seizing the highlands (Judg., chap. 1). The feud had been emphasized by the great Deborah battle at Esdraelon (Judg., chaps. 4 and 5). The Israelites had been faithless to their covenant and burned Shechem (Judg., chap. 9; Gen., chap. 34). They had also destroyed the city of Laish (Judg., chap. 18). And now, in disregard of a solemn treaty, their king had led an attack on Gibeon (II Sam., chap. 21). The peace covenant between the two races did, indeed, pave the way for constructive results; but Saul was not the kind of statesman to deal with the problem.

The Philistine policy was to break Saul's kingdom, and to hold the Israelites and Amorites apart.—The progress of the national movement in Israel interested the Philistines greatly, for they dreaded the rise of a strong neighboring state. They did not approve of the highland kingdom under Saul; and they looked with apprehension upon the peace treaty between Israel and the Amorites. Hence the Philistines once more took the field against the highlanders, and shattered the power of Saul decisively at the battle of Gilboa. The scene was a memorable one, long talked about at the firesides of Israel. Gilboa stands among the northern hills of Ephraim, abutting upon the plain of Esdraelon; and in the important action occurring at this place, King Saul and his three sons were slain.

[1] This violation of the treaty seems to have been more extensive than at first appears. The city of Gibeon was in league with a number of Amorite places, among which was Beeroth (Josh. 9:17). It is said that "the Beerothites fled to Gittaim," and that two of the Beerothites murdered one of Saul's grandsons (II Sam. 4:1–7).

A fact of large meaning is found in the treatment of the royal corpses by the Philistines. The victors carried the bodies of Saul and his sons across the eastern end of the plain, *and fastened them to the wall of the Amorite city of Beth-shan* (I Sam. 31:8–10). This important city was one of the many fortified places which the Israelites had failed to reduce at the time of the original invasion (Judg. 1:27; see Table II, p. 106). Beth-shan had stood behind its fortifications, grim and hostile, through the rough times of the Judges period; and the feelings of its people must have been very mixed as they saw the Philistines draw near and fasten the corpses of the Israelite royal family to the city wall. By this act, the Philistines virtually said to the Amorites: "When you make treaties with Israel, you are dealing with a people who are too weak to defend themselves, and who will not respect their treaty obligations."

The Israelite outlook was very dark when the star of Saul's kingdom sank in the dust of Gilboa.

In the period of the highland kingdom, Yahweh remained a local deity; and the hill-country became his "inheritance."— The Israelite view of Yahweh in this epoch is interestingly shown by certain words attributed to David when he fled away from the anger of King Saul: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the *inheritance of Yahweh*, saying, Go, serve other gods. Now therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth *away from the presence of Yahweh*" (I Sam. 26:19–20). In this passage the hill-country has become the "inheritance of Yahweh." To leave the highlands of Israel was to go into the territory of "other gods," who must be served by all persons that entered their domains. To depart from Israel was thus the same as going away from the "presence," or the "face," of Yahweh.[1]

[1] The American Revised Version translates the passage from David as we give it; but the King James Version translates it in words that are out of sympathy with the meaning of the Hebrew and the sense of the context.

In the reign of Saul, Yahweh continued to be identified with the "mishpat" of the clan brotherhood.—The highland kingdom was little more than a loose, weak federation; and in spite of their national movement, the Israelites remained in the clan stage of progress all through the reign of Saul. In brief, they had not yet come to terms with civilization in general, nor with Amorite civilization in particular. This primitive community, with its ideas of what was "right" between man and man, worshiped Yahweh as its divine patron and the judge of its morality. Thus we see that three successive historical epochs emphasized the character of Yahweh as a god of the primitive, brotherhood *mishpat*—(1) the nomadic period in the Arabian wilderness, (2) the period of the Judges, (3) the period of the highland kingdom. Throughout all this time, from days immemorial straight up to the death of Saul at Gilboa, the clan chiefs presided over the administration of justice in the name of Yahweh. The courts operated not primarily to manufacture law, but simply to guarantee the application of old customs to all cases. Every man who had reached the years of discernment knew in a general way what the clan morality demanded. Therefore we must fix clearly in mind that, in the very nature of the situation, the *mishpat* of Yahweh was no secret. It was the common property of the clan conscience.

Yahweh therefore continued apart from the Amorite Baals during the time of Saul.—We have seen that the final "putting-away" of Amorite gods is placed in the time just *prior* to the establishment of the monarchy (I Sam. 7:4). "The contest with the Canaanite religion," says Marti, "naturally played an important part in the struggle for the possession of the country."[1] In line with the same view, Kuenen has observed that the struggle for nationality must have been coupled with a more or less pronounced aversion to the local Canaanite cults,

[1] Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament* (London, 1907), p. 98.

and with a desire to preserve Israel's religious individuality.[1] There is no mention of the Baals in the narratives of the highland kingdom; and the Amorite gods evidently stood outside the calculations of the Israelites at this time.

By the latter part of the Judges period, the highlanders had already begun to bring offerings of bread and wine up to the Shiloh sanctuary (I Sam. 1:24). For Yahweh had now become a god of the hill-country. The clouds were believed to drop water at the presence of Yahweh, in the "Song of Deborah," the oldest extant piece of Hebrew literature (Judg., chap. 5). He sends dew on Gideon's fleece of wool, as it lies on the highland threshing floor in the heart of Canaan (Judg. 6:36 f.). It was he, not the Baals, who sent the rains that fertilized the crops and made the grass to spring forth in the uplands of Ephraim, Gilead, and Judah. The bread of the "presence" that stood before the altar of Yahweh at Nob was the fruit of the ground (I Sam. 21:6). Bread and wine, both coming from the soil, were offered at the holy place in Bethel (I Sam. 10:3); and it cannot be claimed that the sacrifices at the high place in Ramah were limited to flesh food (I Sam. 9:11 f.). Yahweh had conquered the highlands, and wrested them from the power of the Amorite Baals. "As Semitic tribes migrated and settled in new environments, their deities naturally took on many new functions or attributes from the new surroundings."[2]

[1] Kuenen, *Religion of Israel* (London, 1874), Vol. I, p. 312.

[2] Barton, "Yahweh before Moses," a paper in the Toy Anniversary Volume.

Budde's view is unnatural, that Yahweh got his function as a rainmaker at second-hand from the Amorite Baals. If Yahweh got his attributes in this way, how did the Baals get their powers?—from still other gods, *ad infinitum?* There was little or no contact between the Yahweh and Baal cults during the Judges period and the time of Saul's kingdom. The entanglement of the two cults came *later*, and even then was limited to certain parts of the country and certain classes of the people. In some Hebrew minds, the distinction between Yahweh and the Baals remained a vital, outstanding fact straight along through the history. For instance, Hosea declares on behalf of Yahweh, "I gave her the grain, and the new wine, and the oil" (Hos. 2:8); and this view at length prevailed. Cf. Gen. 7:4; 27:27, 28; Exod. 9:33; Deut. 7:13; 33:13–16, 28; I Kings 17:1; 18:44; Amos 4:7; Jer. 14:22.

The god of Israel was recognized in many personal names during this period. The name of the crown prince, Jonathan, signifies "Yahweh has given" (I Sam. 14:39). The name of the priest Ahijah means "Yahweh is protector" (I Sam. 14:3). That of Joab, the warrior, means "Yahweh is father" (I Sam. 26:6).[1]

[1] There is no reason to suppose that Yahweh shared with the Baals the religious devotion of Israel during the time of the highland kingdom. The idea that Amorite Baal-worship was necessarily involved whenever an Israelite sowed seed in the uplands in the reign of Saul is an assumption for which there is absolutely no warrant in the sources.

The name Ishbaal, which was given to one of the sons of Saul (II Sam. 2:8) signifies "man of Baal." This name in II Samuel has been changed by the zeal of some later copyist into Ish-bosheth, or "man of shame" (cf. I Chron. 8:33). If the Baal in question be Yahweh, the fact indicates merely that this generic term was applied to him, but not that he had suddenly forfeited his "identity" through confusion with the many Baals of the Amorites. The term *baal*, as we have seen, denoted the father of a family in Israel (chap. vi, *supra*); and so its application to Yahweh may have been suggested as much by Israelite analogy as by Amorite usage. In any case, the Baal-names weigh no more heavily in the scales of evidence than do the Yahweh-names; and the highland kingdom, like the Judges period, yields more of the latter than of the former. Professor Addis writes, on the matter of names, "Nothing can be made of the fact that Hebrew proper names are sometimes compounded with Baal" (*Hebrew Religion* [London, 1906], pp. 106 f.).

CHAPTER XIII

COALESCENCE OF THE RACES

The Hebrew nation came into existence under the house of David, at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites.—The Hebrew nation, as known to world history, did not arise until Israelites and Amorites were brought under the cover of one political roof. The extension of the framework of the monarchy was the task of David, one of the most astute statesmen that ever crossed the stage of history. With great boldness, David located his capital at one of the Amorite walled cities which had not been reduced by the Israelites at the time of the original invasion. This place, known as "Jebus" and also as "Jerusalem," had remained a foreign city up to the time of David. The new king took this place, and occupied its fort, *Zion*, calling it the "City of David." Instead of exterminating the inhabitants, after the manner of Saul, David spared the Amorite population and contracted state-marriages with the leading families (II Sam. 5:6–13). In line with the same policy, and as a further token of good faith, David gave up to the Amorites of Gibeon a number of the grandsons of Saul for execution. This he did by way of atonement for Saul's perfidy in breaking the treaty with the Amorites (II Sam., chap. 21).[1]

[1] It is to be noticed that David protected himself in this action by consulting the ephod oracle of Yahweh; but this particular item of evidence should be taken in connection with the whole situation. "Religion in antiquity, particularly official religion, usually gave its oracles in accordance with royal or priestly policy."—Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York, 1906), p. 288. To the same effect, see Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), pp. 522, 523. Also, on Greek oracles, Jebb, *Essays* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 156 f. Professor Jebb writes, "There were occasions on which an oracle became, in a strict sense, the organ of a political party." He adds, rather profanely, that the god "Apollo, in short, kept up a series of most urgent leading articles." We have discussed the ephod oracle of Yahweh in Part II, chap. viii.

The general situation is clearly shown by a detached notice inserted in the Book of Joshua by a later hand, as follows: "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (Josh. 15:63). An instance of the peaceful relations established between the races appears in the case of Araunah the Jebusite, from whom David bought some real-estate. Araunah calls David, "My lord, the king" (II Sam. 24:16, 21). It is not surprising to find persons from the Canaanite cities in David's army (II Sam. 23:32, 37); nor is it strange that a general census in this reign accounted for Canaanites as well as for Israelites (II Sam. 24:1 ff.).

David was followed on the Hebrew throne by his son Solomon. This king was not born among the peasantry of the hills, like his father, but in the Amorite city of Jerusalem. Under Solomon the national process went to its logical issue. The new monarch set up the administration of the kingdom not only in his native city, Jerusalem, but in a number of Amorite cities, such as Beth-shemesh, Taanach, Megiddo, Shaalbim, Hazor, Gezer, Beth-shean, etc. (I Kings 4:1, 2, 9, 11, 12, and 4:15).[1]

It is clear that under Solomon the development of nationality came to a climax. In this reign the Hebrew kingdom took the form of an organization including all the social factors that enter into the composition of a mature state. It was not merely a loose confederacy of shepherds and farmers, as in the time of Saul. For the monarchy now embraced not only the more primitive and backward classes, but merchants, artisans, bookkeepers, teachers, and financiers; and it entered with some abruptness into the circle of oriental civilization (I Kings 4:1–5; 9:28; 10:14–28). The fact that Israel finally

[1] Compare the list of unconquered Amorite cities in Judg., chap. 1, as quoted above, p. 106.

came to disaster is no proof that the union of the races in a single state was a bad policy. It simply proves that nobody was able to cope with the resulting situation.

The race distinction of the Amorites was lost within the mass of the Hebrew nation.—The sociology of the Israelite invasion of Canaan was precisely opposite to that created by the Norman invasion of England. In the case of the Normans, the invaders found a social group *already in existence*. The English nation was organized under a king before the Normans crossed the channel; so that Norman life adjusted itself within the national mold, or matrix, furnished by English life. "As early as the days of Henry the Second," writes Green, "the descendants of Norman and Englishman had become indistinguishable. Both found a bond in a common English feeling and English patriotism."[1] In England, therefore, the invaders took the name of the older inhabitants.

But the Israelite invaders of Canaan did not find a national group in possession of the land. In this case, it was the *invaders*, and not the older inhabitants, who supplied the organization. The national movement started among the Israelites of the highlands, not among the Amorites of the lowlands; it was Israel that gave the first national rulers, and supplied the national religion. As a result, the older population at length lost its identity in the mass of the Hebrew nation, and became Israelite in name. In these contrasted historic situations, the Hebrew and the English, the objective circumstances were precisely opposite; and the key to the facts in each case is found in the group organization. The Amorites intermarried with the Israelites; and the new generations called themselves Israelites, or Hebrews, and ignored the Amorite side of their ancestry. The invasion of the land by the Israelites projected itself into bold relief against the

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, Book III, chap. i.

historical background, while the intermingling of the races made no impression upon later generations.

All these facts resulted in the tradition that finally became current, in which the Israelites were said to have triumphantly swept away and exterminated the Amorites. Everybody of any consequence wanted to be known as a Hebrew, or Israelite, descended straight from Jacob, the ancient hero, who took the country out of the hand of the Amorite with his sword and with his bow (Gen. 48:22). The idea that the earlier population was totally destroyed appears, as we have seen already, in the late Book of Joshua (see above, chap. ii); but this is on the basis of popular tradition. To the same effect, Amos declares on behalf of Yahweh, "Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks. Yet I destroyed his fruit from above and his roots from beneath" (Amos 2:9). The idea that the Amorites were destroyed, root and branch, is indeed one of the vague, popular notions that survive down to the present day. Unless we take the trouble to look below the surface, and hold the fundamental facts in mind, we miss the real merits of the Bible situation as it unrolls before us.

Under the house of David, the political center of gravity shifted from the Israelite highlands to the Amorite walled cities.—We noticed that King Saul had no fortified capital; and this no doubt was one element of the weakness that brought him to ruin. It now becomes of importance to observe that under the house of David the political center of gravity in Israel underwent a remarkable change of location. The first two kings of Israel—Saul and David—were born in country villages in the hills, the one in Gibeah, the other in Bethlehem; but the third king, Solomon, was a native of the still Amorite city of Jerusalem. This transfer of the seat of government was in response to military necessity. The

kingdom was constantly menaced by hostile powers; and no administration could be successfully established among the villages of the open, unprotected highlands. Thus, the national machinery was forced into connection with the ancient fortified centers, where it found the only security under which it could guard the entire land. The affairs of the nation were now directed more and more from the city standpoint; and the two races were soon welded into the Hebrew nation. The Amorite blood, the Amorite point of view, and the Amorite gods *remained as factors in the situation;* but the older inhabitants themselves coalesced with the new and vanished from history.

Bible students have been thrown off their guard by the absorption of the Amorites.—The disappearance of the older population of the land within the mass of the Hebrew state has been the cause of much confusion of ideas—first, among the compilers of the Old Testament, and second, among those who have studied and read the Bible in all succeeding ages. The Amorites were cast out and utterly destroyed; yet they rose miraculously from the dead. They were demolished forever by mighty portents from heaven; yet they remained in possession of numerous walled cities. This fundamental variance of ideas is not adjusted anywhere in the Bible. The compilers and authors of the Old Testament were not scientific historians in the modern sense. They worked in the interests of moral and religious edification; and they were so absorbed in the spiritual possibilities of Israelite history that they paid small heed to the material facts. This is nothing unusual among ancient writers; nor indeed is it strange at any period of history; for it has often come to pass that several competing versions of the same event have been afloat at the same time. If it should be inquired how the compilers of the Bible could have permitted these rival accounts to stand in the canon of sacred Scripture, the

answer is, that the Bible was not arranged and compiled at a single stroke; nor was it all "officially adopted" by the ruling powers at the same time. It is the result of the labor of many minds, extending over hundreds of years. It represents a very gradual accumulation of literary material; and even if anybody had *wanted* to "edit" the Bible into scientific and historical accuracy and consistency in the modern sense, the circumstances of its production would have made such a thing impossible. What we have to bear in mind in all these critical studies is, that the Bible has actually fulfilled the religious purpose for which it was written, and that science and philosophy, no matter what they may do, cannot obliterate this great fact.

Nevertheless, the age in which we live demands that, if possible, the embarrassments of the biblical narratives be resolved by careful, scientific study. This becomes necessary more and more if the Bible is to be accepted as authoritative by the future. The conception of an essentially *homogeneous* Israelite people, descended straight from the twelve sons of Jacob, has been standing in the minds of Bible students and Christian people as a "fixed idea." This idea has not only shaped the popular thought, but it has influenced even professional scholars more fully than they have always been aware.[1] And so long as this initial difficulty is not fully exploited and emphasized, we cannot hope for any further solid progress, either scientific or popular, in the understanding of Scripture.

An instance of the confusion of ideas about Israelites and Amorites.—One of the writers who have promoted confusion of mind in regard to the national history is the author of the following passage:

[1] Thus, modern criticism has pointed out the double ancestry of the Hebrew nation, time and again. But, on the whole, this fact has been brought forward only to be mentioned and then retired into the background.

As for all the people that were left of the Amorites . . . . which were not of the children of Israel, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy: of them did Solomon raise a levy of bondservants unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondservants. But they were the men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and the rulers of his chariots and of his horsemen (I Kings 9:20–22; cf. Lev. 25:39–46).

According to this writer, the Israelites remained in the upper class, in a very dignified social state, while the Amorites were a distinct "remnant," reduced to bondage. But the effort of this writer to show that Solomon did not enslave and oppress the Israelites is impeached by other and far higher authorities. There is clear evidence that Solomon's forced labor was done by persons of Israelite blood (I Kings 11:28; 5:13 f.), and that his organized oppression led, among other causes, to the revolt of the northern tribes after his death. Thus the son and successor of this king is reported as expressing himself to the Israelites in the following words: "My father made your yoke heavy; but I will add to your yoke. My father chastised you with whips; but I will chastise you with scorpions" (I Kings 12:14). A writer who supposes that Solomon raised his levies of bondservants only from the Amorites, and that the children of the former inhabitants remained apart from Israel, cannot be taken as a guide in the study of Hebrew social development. Although a few isolated Amorite communities may have remained in the time of Solomon, the great mass of biblical evidence proves that the two races were fusing under the house of David, and that no sharp line of distinction could then be drawn between them.

David brought the "Ark of Yahweh" to the city of Jerusalem; and a temple was built for it by Solomon.—During the Judges period, the ark, or chest, of Yahweh was a part of the temple furniture at Shiloh, in the Ephraimite hills. This object was

captured in battle by the Philistines, and then left in the Amorite city of Kiriath-jearim, a place which was under Philistine suzerainty.[1] After the election of David, he advanced upon Kiriath-jearim with an armed force, and carried the ark away. The sacred box was then placed in a tent in the Israelite quarter at Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:1–17). In the following reign it was deposited carefully within the shelter of a splendid new temple (I Kings 8:1).

Neither David nor Solomon made any attempt to abolish the numerous local sanctuaries of Yahweh that were scattered through the length and breadth of the land. The people continued to worship Yahweh at these ancient village churches just as they did in earlier times.[2] There is not the slightest evidence that David knew anything about the Deuteronomic obligation of the one legitimate, central house of worship. (Deut. 12:10–14. Cf. chap. ii, *supra*.)

The ark was taken to Jerusalem in order to promote the growth of national sentiment. This holy object, which the Israelites had venerated at the temple of Shiloh, furnished a visible connection with the past; and it now offered a point of attachment for the patriotic feelings of the newly established Hebrew nation.

[1] The improbable story of the return of the ark by the Philistines occurs in a passage that has been tampered with by a late priestly writer. The "Baale-Judah" of II Sam. 6:2 is the same as Kiriath-jearim (cf. I Chron. 13:5, 6; Josh. 15:9, 10; I Sam. 7:1).

[2] "How far Israel actually worshiped the local Baals at these sanctuaries is uncertain."—Robinson, *Commentary on Deuteronomy* (New York), p. 115

CHAPTER XIV

THE "INCREASE" OF YAHWEH[1]

The evolution of ancient society brought with it an evolution of ideas about the gods.—It is well known among students of the history of religion that the coalescence of ancient social groups into larger groups always brought with it the rise of some particular deity, thrusting the cult of that god up to a new eminence of distinction.

Thus, when the Assyrians founded their national government, and when their king became supreme over other kings, their god Ashur became supreme over other gods.[2] In Babylonia, Marduk, the god of the city of Babylon, rose to lordship over his local rivals.[3] "The priests of Marduk," writes Jastrow, "set the fashion in theological thought. So far as possible, the ancient traditions and myths were reshaped so as to contribute to the glory of Marduk. The chief part in the work of creation is assigned to him."[4] It was the pious belief of Hammurabi that he was the favorite of Marduk, and that the power of this god brought success to the Babylonian king. In the same way, the Egyptian deity Amon, originally the god of the city of Thebes, rose to an imperial place as Thebes advanced in importance. "The triumph of a Theban family," writes Breasted, "had brought with it the supremacy of Amon. . . . . It was not until now that he became the great god of the state. . . . . He now rose

[1] The term "increase" comes from Jeremiah, as below.

[2] Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York, 1900), p. 256.

[3] Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York, 1906), p. 115.

[4] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 691. Cf. chaps. vii and xxi.

to a unique and supreme position of unprecedented splendor."[1] In illustration of the same principle, Steindorff writes:

> In the beginning there was no uniformity of religion in Egypt. Every city, every town, every hamlet, possessed its own protecting deity, its own patron. To him the inhabitants turned in the hour of need or danger, imploring help; by sacrifice and prayer they sought to win his favor. In his hand lay the weal and woe of the community. . . . . The Egyptian religion entered upon a new phase of its development in the "Middle Kingdom," when the political center of gravity of the realm was generally shifted southward. During the internal confusion which had brought the "Old Kingdom" to its end, the Upper Egyptian city Thebes had acquired power and reputation. It was by Theban princes that the reorganization of the state was successfully carried out; and though the kings of Dynasty XII transferred their residence to the lake district of the Fayoum, the city from which they had sprung remained the object of their fostering care. The Theban local divinity, Amon, identified with the sun-god and transformed into Amon-Re, was set above other gods, and honored by new temples and costly gifts. Later on, Thebes was the headquarters of the struggle against the Hyksos, and after its termination, the chief city of the "New Kingdom." . . . . Thus in the "New Kingdom," Amon became the *national god* of Egypt.[2]

The rise of the Hebrew nation brought with it the rise of Yahweh among the gods of the ancient world.—The foregoing instances help us to see by analogy how the development of the Hebrew nation supplied the objective social basis for the elevation of Yahweh among the gods.

Reverting to the desert period a moment, the lowest level to which we can trace Yahweh is that of a local deity of the wilderness with his seat on Mount Sinai. It was here that one or more of the Israelite clans entered into covenant with the Kenites, and became worshipers of Yahweh. As Jeremiah says, "Israel was consecrated to Yahweh—the first-

[1] Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 248.

[2] Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1905), pp. 17, 52, 53. Cf. Erman *Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (London, 1907), pp. 19, 57, 58, 81.

fruits of his *increase*" (Jer. 2:3). Elsewhere it is said that Yahweh "became" the god of Israel, and that he "chose" Israel in order to make himself a "reputation," or a "name" (II Sam. 7:23; cf. Neh. 9:10). The covenant in the desert is rightly spoken of by Jeremiah as marking the early steps of the "increase" of Yahweh.

During the time of the Judges and of the highland kingdom, Yahweh remained a god of hill villages and nomadic tent dwellers in the uplands. But after the coalescence of Israelites and Amorites in the Hebrew nation, the cult of Yahweh sprang into a new importance and acquired more weight. The term Israel *now* represented far more than at first. The new generations began to think not only that Yahweh had conquered the hill-country as his "inheritance," but that his power had given Israel the entire land of Canaan. Thus Yahweh advanced from the position of a clan god to that of a national deity.

But this was not all. The Hebrew nation hardly came into existence under David before it acquired an imperial position. The Philistines were vanquished so decisively that they ceased to harass Israel. The Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Arameans were defeated and put to tribute. Thus we read:

> It came to pass that David smote the Philistines and subdued them. . . . . And he smote Moab. . . . . And the Moabites became slaves to David and brought tribute. David smote also Hadadezer the son of Rehob, king of Zobah. . . . . And when the Arameans of Damascus came to succor Hadadezer king of Zobah, David smote of the Arameans two and twenty thousand men. Then David put garrisons in Aram of Damascus; and the Arameans became slaves to David and brought tribute. And Yahweh gave victory to David whithersoever he went. . . . . And he put garrisons in Edom . . . . and all the Edomites became slaves to David. *And Yahweh gave victory to David whithersoever he went* (II Sam. 8:1–14).

Thus we see that just as David became "king of kings," so Yahweh became "god of gods." The rise of David pro-

moted the rise of Yahweh; and the king himself believed that the god of Israel was helping him wherever he went. As a matter of sober fact, the religions of ancient society *did* lead to victory by the coherence and organization which they gave. Soldiers were always rallied to battle in the name of a god; and the stronger the common enthusiasm for the god, the more effective the army became. Until we saturate ourselves in the atmosphere of the ancient world, this religious phenomenon can hardly be grasped in all its force and significance. The same principle was everywhere at work among the ancient states. The quotation just given from the Book of Samuel with reference to David and Yahweh can be matched, almost word for word, from the inscriptions of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. All the ancient kings believed their gods were assisting them; and they constantly invoked the presence and support of these divine helpers. Religion was a fact of tremendous reality and importance. The gods came to their votaries in dreams; and at moments of high excitement, such as the crisis of battle, some persons actually thought they *saw* their divinity leading the charge against the opposing army and its gods.

From these facts and examples we can see how the social development of Israel supplied the external basis for the "increase" of Yahweh. In the mind of the Hebrews, their god had shown himself superior to the gods of all peoples, with whom Israel had thus far come in contact. The deities of neighboring peoples fell below the level of Yahweh, who was plainly showing himself to be a "god of hosts, mighty in battle." It is to the period of the Davidic empire that the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" is probably to be referred. The Israelite mind at this time could easily draw the inference that Yahweh's power exceeded that of all the gods. For "Yahweh gave David the victory whithersoever he went"; and the peoples with whom Israel did not come into

conflict at this particular time were either too far away, or too feeble, to make any impression upon the religious consciousness of Israel. The expansion of the idea of Yahweh had therefore an ample basis in the social condition of the Hebrew kingdom.

The increase of Yahweh, as thus treated, cannot explain the development of Bible religion.—The circumstances wherein Yahweh started on the way to his position as "Lord of lords" bring to view only a single thread, or phase, of the process that we are investigating. The fact that calls most loudly for explanation, as we have pointed out several times, is not the superiority of Yahweh over other gods in point of power, but in point of the moral character finally connected with him as the Redeemer of mankind. The tendency toward monotheism is visible among many ancient peoples; and the worship of a god who is believed to be more powerful than other gods is frequently found in antiquity. Such a religion has no particular advantage over polytheism, unless it be saturated with an exclusive ethical spirit such as the cult of Yahweh at length acquired.

CHAPTER XV

THE GROUPING OF THE GODS

The coalescence of Israelites and Amorites brought the cults of Yahweh and the Baals into close connection.—When the two races united in the Hebrew nation, *the gods of both peoples continued to stand.* There is nowhere any hint that David commanded the Amorites to put away their ancient cults as a condition of entering the kingdom. To do this would have stirred up race-prejudice once more, since religion and politics were identified in ancient society. The entire policy of David shows that he wanted to conciliate the Amorites; and there is no sign of any struggle against the local Baal-worship for many generations after the establishment of the Davidic monarchy. We do not know whether David and Solomon themselves worshiped the native Amorite gods;[1] but we know that the incorporation of the Amorites would have been impossible if *they* had not become worshipers of the national deity; and we find cases in which they actually practiced the cult of Yahweh (II Sam. 21:1–9; cf. I Kings 3:4, 5). But on the other hand, the Baals were local, or provincial, gods; and the founding of the nation did not bring up the subject of the local worship. As a consequence, the provincial gods dropped into the background until they were finally thrust into notice by the fierce denunciations of the later prophets.

The Hebrew kingdom brought with it a strong impulse to regard Yahweh as a god of civilization.—The establishment of the monarchy at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites brought with it a powerful tendency to forget

[1] Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago, suggests that David may have simply ignored the local Baals.

or ignore the connection between Yahweh and the older usages of the desert and the hills. There was now an impulse to connect the national god with the standpoint of civilization as opposed to that of the wilderness, and to claim the patronage of Yahweh on behalf of legal usages that were strange to the more primitive classes in Hebrew society. *In other words, the kingdom had a propensity to draw Yahweh aside from his earlier character as a god of the primitive, brotherhood mishpat, and to regard him as a divinity having the same nature as the local Baals.* This impulse is clearly chargeable to that part of the Hebrew nation where Amorite blood was thickest. The tendency to "baalize" the national god came out conspicuously into relief among the ruling classes who stood connected with the old Amorite centers of population.

But Yahweh's early character, as a god of brotherhood "mishpat," clung to him persistently.—The tendency to convert the national god into a local Baal was not suffered to go unchecked. For the old idea of Yahweh survived in vigor among certain classes of the people. The nation, indeed, became an arena wherein a mighty conflict was waged around this issue: Is Yahweh a god who approves the standpoint of oriental civilization, with its practical disregard of the common man? Or, is he to be worshiped as a god who sanctions the older and higher morality of the nomadic social group, with its greater esteem for human rights?

In the end, the tendency to "baalize" Yahweh was defeated.—The struggle around this issue occupies the foreground of our sociological investigation of the Bible. The great conflict began, as many struggles do, in a vague and confused way. Men could not immediately think themselves into absolute clearness about it. They had to go through *stages* in their discernment of the logic underlying the main issue. It is not the design of this chapter to put on exhibition the different periods that marked the controversy. But it is well to

emphasize at this point in our study that the tendency to baalize the Hebrew religion was defeated in the long run. However strong the forces were which tended to convert Yahweh into a god of "civilization," the religious development of Israel proves that these forces were largely counteracted.

The distinction between Yahweh and the local Baals was explicitly asserted by the prophet Hosea, in the eighth century B.C.; by the prophet Jeremiah, in the seventh century; and by the Deuteronomic writers, who were in part contemporary with Jeremiah. The great monument of the Deuteronomic school is, of course, the Book of Deuteronomy, in which the "other gods" chiefly in view are the gods of the former inhabitants of Canaan. But the Deuteronomists also accomplished work of large importance in compiling and editing the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which emphasize the distinction between Yahweh and the local Baals.

There were several ways in which the distinction between Yahweh and the Baals was preserved.—A number of circumstances operated to maintain the qualitative difference between the cults inherited by the nation from its double ancestry, Israelite and Amorite.

1. *The social diversity of the Hebrews.*—It is a fact of large and vital importance that the nation was not ironed out into absolute social and religious uniformity. The mixture of Israel with the Amorites was mostly in Ephraim, the *north.*[1] It was here that most of the old Amorite cities lay (cf. chap. xi, Table II). Accordingly, it was in Northern Israel, that Baal-worship flourished more than elsewhere.[2]

But on the contrary, the people with whom the Israelites mixed in the highlands of Judah were mostly Arabian clans, whose habits and point of view agreed more closely with the

[1] G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (London, 1904), p. 316.

[2] McCurdy, art. "Baal," *Jewish Encyc.*

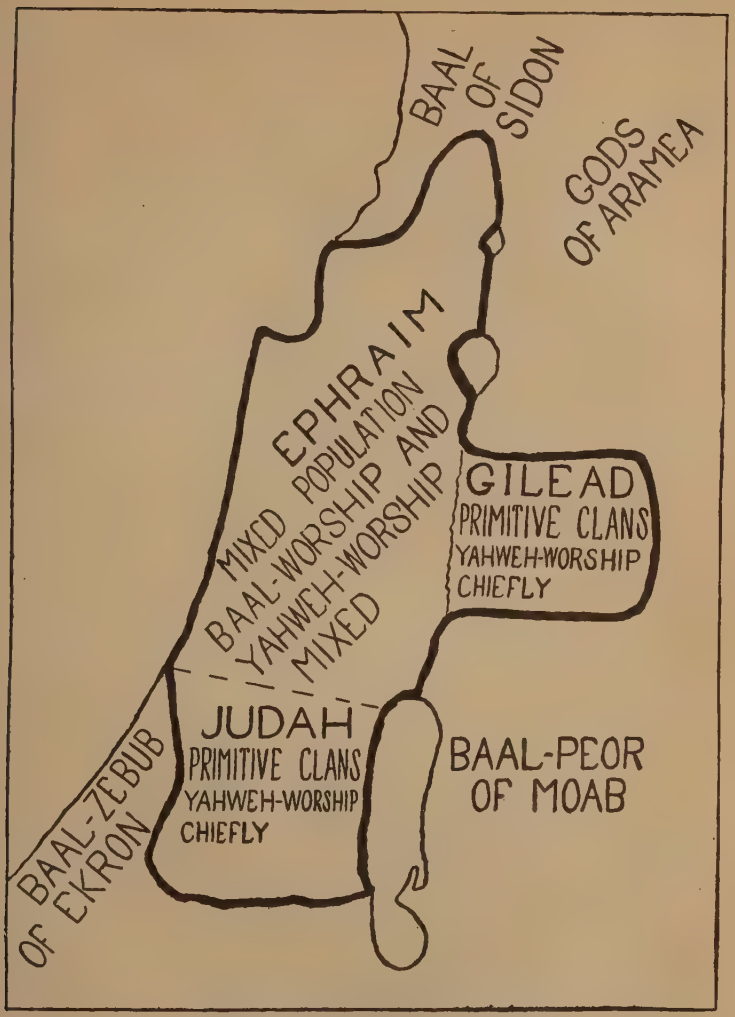
early *mishpat* of Yahweh. "The shepherd's occupation," writes Professor Addis, "was . . . . especially prominent in Judah, where there is much less arable land than in the central districts of Palestine."[1] The influence of Judah in the direction of the more primitive life and thought was reinforced by that of Gilead, on the east of the Jordan. Gilead was a hill-country, "a place for cattle" (Num. 32:1). Here the goats lay along the mountain side; here people and flock fed in the ancient days (Song of Sol. 4:1; Mic. 7:14). Gilead was ever one of the backward, outlying sections of Israel, touched but little by Amorite civilization.

> The Israelites of the frontier, in Judah and beyond the Jordan in Gilead, evidently retained not a little of the ancient nomad habits, and in part were closely allied with other tribes of the wilderness. Thus we find from time to time expressions of that characteristic distaste for the ease and luxuries of settled life which belongs to the genuine Bedouin. The Nazirite vow against drinking wine and the laws of the Rechabites are cases in point. And the Rechabites, like the Nazirites, were on the side of the old Jehovah [Yahweh] worship, and against the Canaanite Baal.[2]

As soon as we fix firmly in mind the primitive disposition of Judah and Gilead, as contrasted with the more "civilized" character of Ephraim, we shall be prepared to grasp the significance of two of the earliest and most effective Israelite prophets. Elijah, of Gilead, left his home, and passed over into the more Amorite Ephraim in order to protest against the evils of his time (I Kings 17:1 ff.). In the same way, Amos left his home in the wilderness of southern Judah, and went up into Ephraim to preach on behalf of the ancient *mishpat* of Yahweh (Amos 7:10–15). These flaming prophets were semi-nomads themselves; and they were the spokesmen of whole classes of shepherds and cattle-raisers that lived in the

[1] Addis, *Hebrew Religion* (London, 1906), p. 82. Cf. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel* (London, 1897), pp. 381, 382. Cf. Renan, *History of Israel* (Boston), Vol. II, p. 227.



SCHEME OF HEBREW EVOLUTION

This diagram should be frequently consulted. The Israelite clans located themselves in the hills of Judah, Ephraim, and Gilead. The fusion with the Amorites was mostly in Ephraim. The "*mishpat* struggle" began with blind revolts against the government; proceeded thence to expulsion of the "border-Baals"; and at length took its characteristic, biblical form by raising the question of the local, or native, Baals inherited from the Amorite side of the nation's ancestry.

highlands of Judah and Gilead in close touch with desert life and ways of thought.[1]

2. *The historical memories of the Judges period* were another circumstance that preserved the distinction between Yahweh and the local Baals. This distinction was implied in the vivid stories that came down across the centuries from the early period of the settlement, enshrined in the recollections of the people. These ancient folk-tales from the pre-monarchic period were taken up eagerly by the Deuteronomic school, which combined them into a treatise later known as the "Book of Judges." In this work, the campaign against the local Baal-worship is treated with great energy and effect.

3. *The military victories of David* supplied another tendency in the direction of emphasizing the contrast between Yahweh and the Amorite gods. The martial progress of the Hebrew nation lifted Yahweh high above the local Baals. The Amorite Araunah, of Jerusalem, is represented as speaking to David about "Yahweh thy god" (II Sam. 24:23); and it was impossible that Araunah and his Amorite neighbors could have imagined that the strong god whose tent had been lately set up on the hill of Zion was in any sense a deity whom their own forefathers had venerated as a local Baal. When the

[1] It is a well-established law that every stage in social development finds its point of departure in some diversity, or heterogeneity, that existed in the preceding stage of evolution. This is treated in the writer's *Examination of Society* (1903). See sec. 78 of that book with reference to the lack of uniformity among the Hebrews. As we shall see later, the social diversity of the nation explains the peculiar *distribution* of emphasis upon local Baalism in the Old Testament. The final reaction against it in the early period is placed in the time of the Judges, before the Israelites and Amorites had coalesced (I Sam. 7:4). The local Baals are not again mentioned for many centuries (I Kings 18:18; 21:26; II Kings 21:2, 3). Elijah apparently struggled only against *foreign* Baalism. The eighth-century *southern* school of prophecy (consisting of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah) had nothing explicit to say about Baalism. The first prophet of Israel to raise the issue as a local matter was Hosea, who lived amid the Baal-worship of the *north*. But the final characteristic development of the Baal issue took place in the *south*, under the leadership of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists, long after the time of Hosea. This interesting phase of the process will be treated in the chapters that follow.

Amorites of Gibeon sacrificed the grandsons of Saul "before Yahweh," they could hardly have identified the national god with the provincial Baals (II Sam. 21:1–9).

No doubt, many persons in David's time worshiped Yahweh in the same *character* as the local Baals; and later on, many people may have gone farther, and regarded the provincial gods as local forms of Yahweh, the great national Baal. Yet there were clear-sighted minds among the Hebrews, down to the very end of the national history, such as Hosea, Jeremiah, and the Deuteronomic school. The military exploits of David, by lifting Yahweh high above the local Baals, were among the subtle and pervasive circumstances that helped the later prophets to keep alive the distinction between the gods.

Hosea tells the people to cease calling Yahweh a Baal (Hos. 2:16); and Jeremiah declares that the people have forgotten Yahweh's "name" by reason of Baal (Jer. 23:27). In the end, the tendency to confuse Yahweh and the Baals, both as to "personality" and as to "character," was overcome by the tendency to distinguish between the gods.[1]

Under the Hebrew kings, the "established religion" took the form of a pantheon, with Yahweh as the leading divinity.—"It is nothing surprising," writes Professor H. P. Smith, "to find the tutelary deities of all Solomon's subjects united in a pantheon." The reason for this is, that "the religion of Yahweh was not at this period sufficiently *exclusive* to protest against it."[2]

The actual religion of the Hebrews, before the Exile, was clearly a system of polytheism, in which many divinities were included, and wherein Yahweh, the national god, was the

[1] Although a few Baal names date from the time of David, which point to the application of this common term to Yahweh, there are far more names from this period which include the proper name of the national god. Moreover, these names are not borne by common folk, but by persons of distinction (II Sam. 3:4; 8:16; 12:25; 13:3; 20:23; 20:24; I Kings 1:5; 4:2; 4:3; 11:29).

[2] H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (New York, 1903), p. 169 (italics ours). "As empires brought different tribes or cities into political unity, pantheons were formed."—George A. Barton, *op. cit.* Kuenen says that it was quite natural that the other gods should be served in the high places beside Yahweh (*The Religion of Israel* [London], Vol. I, p. 351).

leading figure. Among "other gods" the local Baals became the most important, *because the religion of Israel took on its world-renowned character of absolute exclusiveness through the fight against the Amorite gods.*

When treated in this way, Bible-study acquires a new interest for the modern mind. We behold the Hebrew kingdom born at the point of coalescence between Amorite civilization and Israelite nomadism. Each race contributes its own gods and its own social point of view to the composite nation. But there is a fundamental difference between the standpoints of civilization and nomadism. This conflict slowly takes form within the nation. It is the later prophets who realize the facts of the problem in a broad way; and only after a long and agonizing struggle is the difference between social usages expressed in the form of a rivalry within the "established" Hebrew religion itself. Just here lay the heart-shattering feature of the problem. The standpoints of nomadism and civilization were identified respectively with Yahweh and the Baals *at the start;* and the logic of history pursued the Hebrew mind like invisible fate until the conflict at last came to an issue around the hostility between Yahwism and Baalism.[1]

[1] It must be remembered that the term *baal* indicated ownership, and that it implied the social system of slavery. The Amorite Baals represented a social system in which freemen could legally be reduced to bondage. Hence, in the eyes of prophets such as Jeremiah, this term should *not* be applied to Yahweh, since it did not represent his attitude toward the clansmen of Israel (cf. pp. 160–61).

CHAPTER XVI

THE INTERACTION OF TENDENCIES

The development of Bible religion took place through the pressure of diverse "forces."—The religion of the Bible is not the outcome of one special thread of influence, but the product of many tendencies and circumstances working together.

At the beginning of this part of our study, we showed that the Yahweh cult got its peculiar and exclusive character through a long *struggle* (chap. ix). The following chapter showed that this conflict involved the shock of opposing standpoints represented by nomadism and civilization (chap. x). We then took up the Judges period, showing that the Yahweh-Baal struggle was at first an incident of the contact of alien social groups, Yahweh retaining his character as a god of the primitive, brotherhood *mishpat* (chap. xi). In the ensuing chapter, we passed on to consider Saul's kingdom in the highlands, which marked the beginning of the national movement. We saw that the Israelites continued apart from the Amorites in this period, without taking up the standpoint of civilization; that Yahweh became fully acclimatized as a god of the highlands, but that he still represented the ancient clan usages (chap. xii). We then took up the coalescence of Israelites and Amorites in the military Hebrew monarchy under the house of David (chap. xiii). Our next item for study was the effect of the new national development upon the prestige of Yahweh (chap. xiv). Then followed inquiry into the relations borne toward each other by the cults inherited from the double ancestry of the Hebrews (chap. xv). We saw that the nation was convulsed by a struggle wherein the tendency to "identify" the national god with the local gods was defeated by the principle of distinction between Yahweh and the Baals. To this great conflict we now turn.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BEGINNING OF THE *MISHPAT* STRUGGLE

The Hebrew nation was presently convulsed by an internal struggle.—The rise of the Hebrew state was complicated by another social movement of tremendous importance. Within fifty years from the time when the Amorites of Beth-shan beheld the dead body of King Saul hanging on their outer fortifications; within fifty years from the time when the Amorites of Gibeon were appeased by the sacrifice of Saul's grandsons; within fifty years from the time when David began to contract marriages with the Amorites of Jerusalem; before the two races had fused into one; and while David still occupied the Hebrew throne—the new nation was convulsed by a tremendous internal struggle. The government itself became an object of contention between rival parties. The people were in revolt against the crown.

According to the advice attributed to Samuel, the people would not be satisfied with the *mishpat* of the monarchy. The national soil would concentrate in the grasp of the nobility; and the masses would be forced into debt and slavery (I Sam. 8:10–17; cf. chap. x, *supra*, p. 92). A hint along the line of Samuel's address is found in the famous notice about the four hundred men who gathered about David at the cave of Adullam in his outlaw days—"everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented" (I Sam. 22:2). Many slaves were breaking away from their masters at this time (I Sam. 25:10). The introduction to the narratives about the great revolt led by Ahitophel and Absalom clearly implies that the courts are not working to the satisfaction of the people (II Sam. 15:1–6). For the people do not find the right sort of *mishpat* (justice, or judgment).[1] The

[1] The word *mishpat* occurs here three times: vss. 2, 4, and 6.

force that swung the balance in favor of David in the struggle with the peasantry was no doubt the professional, hired soldiery under command of Benaiah (II Sam. 15:18; 20:23). But the military triumph of David could not solve the problem before the nation; and as his reign drew to a close, the struggle began afresh in the contest over the succession to the crown. Two candidates for the throne appeared. One of these was Adonijah, supported by the highland peasantry; by Joab, the leader of the peasant militia; and by the priest Abiathar, of the old Ephraimite village of Nob (I Kings 1:5–14; 2:13–15). The other candidate, Solomon, had the support of Benaiah, the commander of the standing army at the capital; of Zadok, the priest of Jerusalem; of Nathan, the prophet of Jerusalem; and, no doubt, of the city class in general (I Kings 1:8, 11–14, 44–46). The victory of Solomon over the peasantry was as clearly due to the support of the standing army as was the earlier triumph of David over the same elements of the population.[1]

In harmony with the unpopular origin of his government, Solomon oppressed the peasantry by forced labor. This, of course, intensified the national malice against the house of David. The taskwork of all that part of the nation lying north of Jerusalem (the house of Joseph) was in charge of an official by the name of Jeroboam. This man, moved by sympathy and ambition, "lifted up his hand against the king" (I Kings 11:26 f.). In this action, he had the support of Ahijah, the prophet, who lived in the Josephite village of

[1] "The matter was decided by the *strong men* of David."—Renan, *Studies in Religious History* (London, 1893) p. 70. "The body-guard was loyal to the old king; and it held the balance of power."—H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (New York, 1903), p. 153. Large armies have not usually been necessary to hold down the unorganized peasants and nomads of the Semitic world. Doughty, who spent two years in Arabia, states that Ibn Rashid maintained his power with four or five hundred professional soldiers (*Arabia Deserta* [Cambridge, 1888], Vol. I, p. 161, and Vol. II, p. 23). Mohammed won the battle of Bedr with only three hundred trained men against three times that number. Cf. Müller, *Der Islam* (Berlin, 1885), Vol. I, p. 110.

Shiloh. Although Solomon was not unseated, the growth of insurgency, as we may now call it, continued throughout his reign; and by the time of his death, the majority of the people were prepared to take radical action. The son and successor of Solomon declares: "My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke. My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (I Kings 12:14). After this, the vast bulk of the nation withdrew from the house of David, setting up the kingdom of Ephraim, or Israel.[1]

The division was not a turning-point in the social history; it was a minor incident in the national struggle. In the revolt against the house of David, the nation merely shook off a small county on the southern border. The vast mass of the people north of Jerusalem set up a new government under the old name of Israel. It was here, indeed, that the national movement had begun. Here was the home of Saul, the first king, and of Samuel, the last of the judges. The tiny principality on the south was of small political importance. Detached and isolated amid the rocky hills, it dropped almost below the historical horizon.

But the issue between parties was not settled by the separation of Israel from Judah. The same struggle that had convulsed the united kingdom soon broke out afresh with growing intensity. For many generations, the center of interest in the Hebrew struggle was in Israel and not in Judah. The notices regarding social conditions in the Northern Kingdom during its earlier period are unsatisfactory; but those that we have are very suggestive when taken in connection with Bible evidence as a whole. One royal house after another was raised up, and then cast violently down. So perished the dynasties of Jeroboam and Baasha (I Kings, chaps. 14, 15, 16). The rise of

[1] It is probable that one element in the popular discontent with Solomon lay in the demonetization of silver caused by the heavy influx of gold in connection with the growth of commerce in this reign. The old silver money in the hands of the common people dropped greatly in value (I Kings 10:10, 11, 14–27).

the next royal house was also an incident in the great struggle that had convulsed the nation since the days of David. For we read that "half of the people followed Tibni ben Ginath, to make him king, and half followed Omri. But the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni ben Ginath. So Tibni died, and Omri reigned" (I Kings 16:21,22). The victory of the successful candidate was bound up with the fact that he, like Solomon before him, had the support of the regular army, having been chosen king in the camp some time before the contest with his rival. This monarch was followed by his son Ahab, in whose reign the first great prophet of the Hebrews came forward with an awful curse against the king for his wickedness in connection with the seizure of a peasant's land. This famous case, like a flash of lightning, illuminates the process of land concentration which went forward among the Hebrews as it did among all the nations and empires of antiquity (I Kings, chap. 21).[1] Another evidence of the social problem in the same period is found in the indebtedness of a prophet and the bondage of his children (II Kings 4:1). The situation agrees with what we read of Assyria in the days of Sargon II.

> The policy of Sargon . . . . involved the subordination of the Assyrian peasantry to the commercial and industrial interests of the state or to the possessors of great landed estates. The burdens of taxes fell upon the farmers even more heavily. They dwindled away, became serfs on the estates, or slaves in the manufactories. . . . . Thus the state as organized by Sargon became more and more an artificial struc-

[1] It is to be noted that in the Naboth case (I Kings, chap. 21), the horror in the first instance does not lie in the murder of Naboth, but in the king's proposal to treat the peasant's land as an item of sale and exchange (vs. 2). It is this proposal, involving the alienation of his patrimonial soil, that arouses Naboth himself. Then it is to be further observed that the conspiracy of Jezebel against Naboth could not be carried out as a bare piece of robbery. It had to be given a *legal* form through the court of "elders and nobles" to which Naboth was answerable (vs. 8). The murder, in fact, was a mere incident in the case. Naboth's crime, in the eyes of Jezebel, consisted in *lèse majesté*. He had spurned what the official classes viewed as a perfectly just and reasonable demand on the part of the king.

ture, of splendid proportions, indeed, but the foundations of which were altogether insufficient. . . . . Assyria's sudden collapse is so startling and unexpected as properly to cause surprise and demand investigation. . . . . The exhausting campaigns, the draft upon the population, the neglect of agricultural development, which is the economic basis of a nation's existence and for which industry or commerce cannot compensate, ... the supremacy of great landowners, and the corresponding disappearance of free peasants, the employment of mercenaries and all that follows in its train—these things, inseparable from a military régime, undermined Assyria's vitality and grew more and more dangerous as the state enlarged.[1]

Illustrations to the same effect are also found in Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and indeed throughout all the ancient world. So far as the purely economic, or material, facts are concerned, the Hebrew people were not in any way exceptional.

The "mishpat" struggle turned around the question, What are good law and morals?—The coalescence of Israelites and Amorites in one social mass produced a great confusion and clashing of legal and moral usages and ideas. The nation as a whole was not able to agree on what constituted "good" law and "good" morals. There was a fundamental conflict of *standpoints*. There was a gigantic, widespread, long-continued misunderstanding, in which neither party was infallible, and in which right and wrong were on both sides. The official, executive class, headed by the king, was located in the walled cities, in close contact with the Amorite point of view. The practical result was an irresistible tendency to put the machinery of the national government on the side of those usages and ideas that came from the Amorite ancestry of the nation. The setting-up of the monarchy brought with it the forcible extension of Amorite *mishpat*, or legal usage, over the backward clans of the hill-country. The highlanders, under the lead of such men as Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Jehonadab ben

[1] Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York, 1906), pp. 263, 326, 327, 328.

Rechab, and others, reacted against this from the standpoint of their ancient, clan *mishpat*. As a consequence, the situation involved what may be figured as a head-on collision between moral codes. The monarchical government enlisted the organized force of the kingdom on the side of the usages of settled civilization, putting the judicial and military and police powers behind the extension of Amorite law throughout the entire land. It is not impossible that this outcome was foreseen by Samuel substantially as we find it in the book bearing his name. His warning was, that the king would represent a *mishpat*, or legal system, in which the peasantry would be heavily taxed and reduced to slavery, and in which their lands would fall into the possession of a small wealthy class of nobles. We are not surprised to find that the great mass of the people revolted against the house of David; nor are we surprised to see that the people of the Northern Kingdom destroyed one royal dynasty after another. What is yet more to the point, we are entirely prepared to find that these revolutions against the kings were supported by the *prophets of Yahweh*, such as Ahijah the Shilonite, Jehu ben Hanani, Elijah, and Elisha (I Kings, chaps. 11, 14–21; II Kings, chap. 9).

Having considered the social struggle from the times of David up into the ninth century B.C. (900–800), we shall now investigate the struggle as it is reflected in the writings of the prophets of later centuries—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and others.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROPHETS AND THE *MISHPAT* STRUGGLE

The prophets were chiefly interested not in the future, but in the problems of their own times.—As we turn from the books of Samuel and Kings to the writings of the prophets, we find the historical development moving onward in the same general terms without a break; and the details of the situation come out before us with an intimacy that we find nowhere else in the Bible.

It is just at this point that one who is turning away from the old view of the Bible begins to get a strong sense of the *historical unfolding* of Israel's experience. The literary prophets, from Amos onward, have been largely ignored by the older school of biblical interpretation. They have been treated in a mechanical way, as minor incidents, not vitally related to the Bible history. As a consequence, the prophets have not figured much in the thought of Christian people. They have been treated as men who were chiefly interested in the future. It has been supposed that "prophecy" was the equivalent of "prediction." It has been taken for granted that the prophets were mostly talking about "things to come," and that their main value and significance lay in foretelling the birth and life of Jesus. But the primary meaning of the word "prophet," as well as of the Hebrew term *nabi*, does not relate to prediction, but simply to *preaching*. If, instead of saying, the "Book of the Prophet Amos," we should say, the "Book of the *Preacher* Amos," we should convey a more accurate impression of the facts. For the prophets were preachers, before everything else; and their attention was directed chiefly upon the conditions and problems of their own age. Beginning in the time treated by the fourteenth chapter of

II Kings, the writings of the prophets furnish a *commentary* on the *mishpat* struggle going on around them. By studying the prophetic books in relation to corresponding passages in Kings, we are able to go forward in our investigation.[1]

The literary prophets were intensely preoccupied with the "mishpat" struggle.—It should be emphasized at the outset that the problem of *mishpat* stood at the very center of the prophetic field of vision. The treatment of this great biblical term in modern translations cannot do justice to the meaning with which it is charged in the Hebrew. Beginning with Amos, in the eighth century B.C., we find the classic exhortation, "Let *mishpat* roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" (Amos 5:24). Advancing through the prophetic books that lie along the years, we find a steady and unwavering stress upon the same, fundamental theme, until at last the motive clothes itself in the exalted visions of the post-exilic Isaiah.

> Behold my Servant, whom I sustain—my Chosen, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my spirit upon him. He shall bring forth *mishpat* [justice] to the nations. . . . . A cracked reed he shall not break, and the dimly burning wick he shall not extinguish. He shall faithfully bring forth *mishpat*. He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set *mishpat* in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law (Isa. 42:1–4).[2]

[1] Those who have not previously approached the Bible from this standpoint will find the following procedure to be very helpful: On the margin of II Kings, 14:16, write, "*Time of the prophet Amos. From this point onward, the books of the literary prophets give an intimate view of the situation.*" Opposite II Kings 14:23, write, "*See Amos 1:1; Hos. 1:1. Compare king-names. This is Jeroboam II.*" Opposite II Kings 15:1, write, "*See Amos 1:1.*" Opposite vs. 13, write, "*See Amos 1:1; Hos. 1:1; Mic. 1:1; Isa. 1:1.*" Opposite vs. 30, write as opposite vs. 13. Opposite II Kings 16:20, write, "*See Mic. 1:1; Hos. 1:1; Isa. 1:1.*" Opposite II Kings 18:1, write, "*See Hos. 1:1; Mic. 1:1; Isa. 1:1.*" Opposite II Kings 22:1, write "*See Jer. 1:2; Zeph. 1:1.*" Opposite II Kings 22:8, write, "*An early edition of the Book of Deuteronomy.*" Opposite II Kings 23:34, and 24:18, write, "*See Jer. 1:3.*" At the end of the Second Book of Kings, write, "*Ezekiel prophesied in Babylonia during the Exile. The Book of Isaiah, beginning with chap. 40, is exilic and post-exilic.*"

[2] To translate the term *mishpat* in this passage merely as "religion" is to obscure the fundamental meaning. The word is here distinctly related to consideration for the poor, who are symbolized by the reed just ready to break, and the light on the point of extinction. As Whitehouse observes, the word is here used "to express the entirety of 'judgments' or customs (usages) of Yahweh's religion."—*Commentary on Isaiah* (New York, Frowde), Vol. II, p. 81.

In the voices of these mighty prophets, deep answers unto deep across the tumults of history. In spite of differences of expression, the same problem is common to all the prophets. Amos declares that *mishpat* has been turned to "wormwood" (5:7; 6:12). This thought reappears in Hosea, where *mishpat* is spoken of as springing up like hemlock, or gall, in the furrows of the field (10:4).[1] Amos longs to see *mishpat* established "in the gate" (5:15). Hosea says that Ephraim, or Northern Israel, is "crushed in *mishpat*" (5:11). Micah says that he is full of power, "by the spirit of Yahweh and of *mishpat*," to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin (3:8). What does Yahweh require, but to do *mishpat*, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy god? (Mic. 6:8.) Learn to do well; seek *mishpat*, says Isaiah (1:17). Zion shall be redeemed with *mishpat* (Isa. 1:27). Woe to those that turn aside the needy from *mishpat* (10:2). Yahweh is a god of *mishpat* 30:18). Princes shall rule in *mishpat* (32:1). Zephaniah, making use of a beautiful figure, says that every morning Yahweh brings his *mishpat* to light (3:5). Jeremiah says that in all Jerusalem there is not a man that does *mishpat* (5:1). The needy do not get *mishpat* (Jer. 5:28). No longer may Judah remain in the Holy Land unless *mishpat* is thoroughly executed between man and man (7:5–7). Yahweh exercises mercy and *mishpat* in the land (9:24). Yahweh calls for the doing of *mishpat* (21:12; 22:3). Ezekiel gives an elaborate catalogue of the various lines of action wherein *mishpat* consists (18:5–27; see 33:14, 15). Yahweh will feed the people in *mishpat* (Ezek. 34:16). The princes are exhorted to do *mishpat* (45:9–12).

When we have succeeded in grasping the fact that all the prophets are absorbed in the *same question*, we have taken one more step toward solution of the Bible problem as a whole.

[1] It comes to light again in Deut. 29:18.

The strong emphasis of the prophets upon this question is very impressive, and calls for the most careful study. We are even yet only upon the threshold of our theme.

The literary prophets all identify Yahweh with the "mishpat" inherited from the Israelite ancestry of the Hebrew nation.—The passages already cited, together with many others of like force, make it clear, in the first place, that the prophets do not regard themselves as innovators. They remember and emphasize the connection of the national god with the ancient ideas and practices that came into the Hebrew nation from the Israelite side of its ancestry. Their view of the "*mishpat* of Yahweh" rests back on the social experience of Israel in the old, primitive, nomadic life of the desert, in the period of the Judges, and in the time of the highland kingdom under Saul. It was, indeed, the survival of these ideas and practices among the more backward social classes of the nation that gave the prophets their *starting-point*. In other words, the prophetic thought connected itself with the *mishpat* that prevailed among the Israelites *before Israel was entangled with Amorite ideas and ways of life*. Perception of this truth takes us another step into the problem. We have seen that the Hebrew nation was not ironed out into absolute social and religious uniformity; and our previous results and conclusions now begin to drop into place in the structure of biblical interpretation.

At first the prophets contended in a blind way against perversion of the old "mishpat."—The *earlier* prophets were not in a position to realize the nature of the situation in which they found themselves; and they could not understand the meaning and power of the forces against which they were fighting. The *later* Old Testament writers—such as the Deuteronomists, Ezekiel, and others—awoke to the fact that the essential thing in the national struggle was the entanglement of Israel with Amorite usages and ideas; and the modern scholar is in a position to see this even more clearly and certainly. But the earlier prophets

were thrown completely off their guard by the fact that the Amorite race, as such, *was no longer in existence.* The previous population of the land had been absorbed into the mass of the nation; and the name of *Israel* had overspread the entire community. Everybody in the time of the prophets believed themselves in good faith to be "Israelites"; and the Amorite side of the nation's ancestry was ignored. To Amos and his contemporaries, the Amorites were a far-away fact, lying on the horizon of Hebrew history.

> Yet destroyed I the *Amorite* before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above and his roots from beneath. Also I brought you up out of the land of Egypt, and led you forty years in the wilderness, to possess the land of the *Amorite* (Amos 2:9, 10).

The literary prophets and their forerunners represented (1) the more backward social class, and (2) the Israelite ancestry of the nation.—The prophet Ahijah came from the Israelite village of Shiloh (I Kings 11:29). Elijah was identified with the hill-country of Gilead, east of the Jordan (I Kings 17:1). Elisha's home was the village of Abelmeholah, in Ephraim (I Kings 19:16, 19). The home of Amos was the village of Tekoa, in the hills of southern Judah (Amos 1:1; 7:14). Micah's residence was in the village of Moresheth, in Judah (Mic. 1:1). Jeremiah's home was the village of Anathoth, northeast of Jerusalem (Jer. 1:1; 32:7–9).

By comparing these places with the territory conquered by the Israelite clans in the early days, it is apparent that the literary prophets and their forerunners represented the Israelite side of the nation's ancestry, and not the Amorite line of its descent. This is equivalent to saying that they stood for the more backward social classes, the peasantry of the highlands. The homes of some of the prophets (for example, Isaiah and Hosea) are not known; but all these prophets are in fundamental agreement; and the controlling

factor in their message is the standpoint of the highland peasantry.

The literary prophets remained in an attitude of opposition to the kings, nobles, and official classes in general.—Since the *mishpat* struggle turned around the question of law, it involved the *legal* arrangements of the nation; it drew the *courts* into its field, and swept the kings, nobles, elders, and ruling classes into the storm-center of dispute. The literary prophets declaimed against and criticized the rulers of their day; and all the prophetic emphasis upon the official class refers fundamentally to the interests of *mishpat*, or justice.

Amos desires to see *mishpat* established "in the gate," meaning thereby the courts of law, which were controlled by the upper classes (5:15). Yahweh will rise against the house of King Jeroboam II with the sword (Amos 7:9). Hosea directs his word squarely against the house of the king (5:1). All the princes he declares to be revolters (Hos. 9:15). They have set up kings, *but not by Yahweh* (8:4). Micah says that the heads of Jacob and the rulers of the house of Israel do not know *mishpat*. They abhor it (Mic. 3:1–3, 9–11). Isaiah predicts that Yahweh will enter into *mishpat* with the elders and princes because they have oppressed the poor (3:14). There shall be woe to the rulers whose decrees take away the *mishpat* of the needy (Isa. 10:1, 2). A king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in *mishpat* (32:1). Zephaniah declares that the princes are roaring lions, and the judges are evening wolves (3:3). Jeremiah, in his picturesque language, says that he is a fortified city and an iron pillar and brazen walls against the kings and princes (1:18). He says that surely the great men are acquainted with the *mishpat* of Yahweh; but, no! They are backsliders, who have broken the yoke (Jer. 5:5, 6). He prepares an object-lesson for the rulers (19:1). He exhorts the royal house to execute *mishpat* (21:12; 22:1–3). The ruling classes

shall drink the wine of the wrath of Yahweh (25:15–18). Ezekiel compares the rulers to shepherds that eat the sheep. For this cause, Yahweh is against the rulers; and the national god himself will feed the people in *mishpat* (Ezek. 34:1–24).

This is but a fraction of the abundant evidence proving that the literary prophets, and the classes for whom they spoke, were strongly opposed to the ruling powers in the Hebrew nation.

The hostility of the prophets to the ruling powers took an interesting form in their opposition to the "gibborim."—We saw that the great revolt under David was put down by the assistance of mercenary troops, or hired "strong men," and that by their aid Solomon was elevated to the throne against the wishes of the peasantry (*supra*, pp. 141–43). In the Hebrew text, these men of power are called *gibborim* (plural, II Sam. 17:8). They were among the principal tools used by the kings in maintaining the government. It was the *gibborim* who garrisoned the royal strongholds that held the country in awe. In cases where the peasants refused to submit, bands of *gibborim* were sent out by the kings and the great nobles. Through them the peasantry were "civilized"; and through them, apparently, the Amorite law was enforced in opposition to the old *mishpat*.

Hence the prophets were very bitter against these tools of the ruling class. Hosea writes: "Thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy *gibborim;* therefore shall a tumult arise against thy people; and all thy fortresses shall be destroyed" (Hos. 10:13, 14). Amos, the shepherd, says that when Yahweh shall punish the land, the *gibborim* shall fall: "Flight shall perish from the swift . . . . neither shall the *gibbor* deliver himself; neither shall he stand that handleth the bow; and he that is swift of foot shall not deliver himself; . . . . and he that is courageous among the *gibborim* shall flee away naked in that day, saith Yahweh" (Amos

2:14–16). In the same spirit, Isaiah classes the paid police with the nobles who hire them. Yahweh will take away the *gibbor*, and the man of war, and the judge, and the captain of fifty, and the counsellor, and the honorable man, etc. (Isa. 3:1, 2). At the time of the Babylonian exile, the King of Babylon took many of these *gibborim* away from Judah and carried them into his own land (II Kings 24:16).

The social struggle had a great deal to do with the question of property in land.—The problem of the Bible becomes increasingly vivid and concrete when we realize that it had much to do with the land question. Samuel's warning about the *mishpat* of the kingdom puts heavy emphasis upon the concentration of landed property in the hands of the nobles (I Sam. 8:14, 15). Elijah condemned King Ahab for seizing the land of Naboth (I Kings, chap. 21). Micah and Isaiah condemned the ruling class for adding house to house and field to field (Mic. 2:1, 2; Isa. 3:14; 5:8). Ezekiel demands that the prince shall not seize the people's land to thrust them out; so that the people shall not be scattered every man from his possession (Ezek. 46:18). The Book of Deuteronomy, which is impregnated with the prophetic spirit, curses the removal of landmarks (Deut. 19:14; 27:17).

The prophets make no distinction between seizing land, as Ahab did in the case of Naboth, and foreclosing a mortgage. In their view, *all* concentration of land is practically in the same category, *because it alienates the soil from the ancient families and clanships.*

The prophets regard the Hebrew nation as a clan brotherhood, or group of blood relatives.—Here, in a nutshell, is one *phase* of the idea revolving in the minds of the prophets, and less clearly in the untutored thought of their oppressed constituents: The Hebrew nation was regarded as *an extension of the primitive clan.* Amos refers to the people of his day as the "clan" (*mishphachah*) which Yahweh brought up out of

the land of Egypt (3:1).[1] Repeatedly they are called the "children" (*banim*) of Israel (Amos 3:1; 9:7; Hos. 1:11; etc.). Again, they are spoken of as the "house," or "family," of Israel (*bayith*, Amos 5:1; Mic. 1:5; Hos. 5:1; etc.). These terms are not mere symbols, or figures of speech. They are used by the prophets in their literal sense. The Hebrew nation is looked upon as a group of blood-relatives, descended straight from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, their nomadic forefathers.

The persistence of the ancient, clan psychology explains the prophetic attitude on morals and economics.—Regarding the nation in this way, as a mere extension of the clan, it was easy for the prophets to apply the ethics of the clan to the social problems around them. The Hebrew nation was a group of *brothers*. Therefore the individual members of the nation ought to treat each other like brothers. For instance, when a poor Israelite is forced to borrow in order to pay taxes, or to float himself over a bad season, the more fortunate, wealthy Israelite should open his bounty and lend freely without asking interest. The debtor should be treated with great consideration by the creditor as touching the matter of repayment. It was an abomination for a creditor to take the personal property, or the land, of a poor debtor who was unable to meet his liabilities. It was equally abominable to reduce the debtor to slavery in order to work out a loan. We noticed that the debtor class augmented the following of David at the cave of Adullam, far back in the time of King Saul (I Sam. 22:2); and a typical case is found in the time of Elisha, in the ninth century: "Now there cried a certain woman, of the wives of the sons of the *prophets*, unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear Yahweh; and the *creditor* is come to take unto him my two children to be *bondmen*" (II Kings 4:1). A more impressive illustration from a later period follows:

[1] See "Kinship Institutions of Israel," chap. vi, *supra*, p. 47.

Then there arose a great cry of the people and of their wives against their *brethren*. . . . . We are mortgaging our fields, and our vineyards, and our houses. Let us get grain because of the dearth. There were also those that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute upon our fields and our vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our *brethren*, our children as their children. And, lo, we bring into *bondage* our sons and our daughters to be *slaves*. . . . . Neither is it in our power to help it; for other men have our *fields* and our *vineyards* (Neh. 5:1–5; italics ours).

Another good illustration is found in the Book of Job. The famous hero of this book is "perfect and upright"; and he fears Yahweh (1:1, 8). Job, like Abraham, represents the primitive social type; for he is a shepherd, and has large possessions in flocks and herds. Speaking from the standpoint of his fear of Yahweh, his righteousness, and his primitive social outlook, he describes the foreclosure of mortgages, and its effects, as follows:

There are those that *remove the landmarks*. They violently take away flocks. . . . . They drive away the ass of the fatherless. They take the widow's ox for a pledge. They turn the needy out of the way (Job 24:2–4; italics ours).

Job goes forth to the law court at the city gate, where the princes and the nobles hold him in profound awe and the greatest respect. He examines the cases that are before the court. He delivers the needy, and helps the fatherless. He confounds the unrighteous, and rescues the helpless prey of the wicked. His *mishpat* is like a diadem and a robe (Job 29:7–17). But all this benignant activity is, of course, purely ideal. It is what the prophets and their friends would like to see, but not what actually exists. The stern reality is pictured by Amos when he says, "They hate him that reproveth in the gate; and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly" (Amos 5:10).

The prophets declare that the claims of kinship avail nothing. Wealthy creditors refuse to abandon their unbrotherly

practices. "They hunt every man his brother with a net" (Mic. 7:2). "No man spareth his brother" (Isa. 9:19). "Trust ye not in any brother; for every brother will utterly supplant" (Jer. 9:4).

The literary prophets do not stand for "human rights" in the abstract.—It should now be emphasized that, in spite of all their championship of the needy and the oppressed, the prophets never at any time stood for what we today call "human rights." This is proved by ample evidence. Let us take a concrete illustration: While the prophets were against the enslavement of Hebrews *by Hebrews*, they did not oppose the institution of human slavery, even among their own people; for they thought it "right" for Israelites to hold slaves from other nations. Thus, Jeremiah declaims against human slavery only in a limited sense:

> The word that came unto Jeremiah from Yahweh . . . . that every man should let his man-slave, and every man his woman-slave, *that is a Hebrew or a Hebrewess*, go free; that none should make *bondmen* of them—*of a Jew his brother* (Jer. 34:8, 9).

In this passage the prophet refers to a number of laws that had been well known to the Hebrew people for many years. These laws are now found scattered through the Pentateuch. According to a regulation found in the E document, a Hebrew might hold another Hebrew as a slave for six years only; and after that he was to let his "brother" go free (Exod. 21:2). This ordinance, or custom, or *mishpat*, is repeated, almost word for word, in another place (Deut. 15:12); and it seems to be the basis of Jeremiah's utterance (cf. Jer. 34:12–16). Indeed, we may search the pages of the literary prophets in vain to find a single instance in which the question of human slavery in the abstract is discussed. Amos passes over it in silence. Micah says nothing about it. Isaiah makes no mention of it. Hosea does not raise the subject. And so with all the prophets. Their attitude with reference to human

slavery as an institution, and with reference to "human rights" in the abstract, is the same as that of the Old Testament as a whole.[1]

The head of the Hebrew house was the *baal*, or owner of wife, children, and slaves. He bought his wife; and he could sell his children (p. 41, *supra*). The so-called "tenth" commandment is a clear and absolute recognition of human slavery (p. 50). Moreover, the institution of slavery is legalized and regulated by an ordinance in the Book of Leviticus, which we have already considered, and we quote again:

> As for thy bondmen and thy bondmaids whom thou shalt have: Of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they have begotten in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall make them for an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession. Of them shall ye take your bondmen forever. But over your *brethren*, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule, one over another, with rigor (Lev. 25:44–46).

Thus we find ourselves returning again and again to the standpoint of the primitive clan. This is fundamentally the prophetic point of view; the prophets take it, in common with the authors of the other books of the Old Testament. It is not right for the children of Israel to hold each other as bondmen; but they may hold foreigners in slavery forever. It is not right for the children of Israel to lend to each other upon interest; but they may lend to foreigners upon interest (Deut. 23:19, 20; Exod. 22:25–27). The children of Israel shall not eat tainted meat, coming from an animal that has died of itself; but they may give it to the sojourner to eat, or *sell* it to a foreigner (Deut. 14:21).

These considerations make it clear that the prophets were not "democrats" in the modern, present-day sense of the word.

[1] We have already considered this phase of the subject in our study of kinship and industry in Israel (chaps. vi and vii, *supra*); so that once more the results of previous investigation fall into place as we advance into the problem.

They faithfully did their best, according to the light they had, even to the adventuring of their lives. There can be no real religious gain in viewing the prophets as "democrats." Their morality, at its best, was a matter of partial vision. The prophets have been credited with a loftier morality than they really expounded, for the simple reason that statements which mean one thing in the Hebrew version appear to mean something else in a modern translation. Suppose we read the famous passage which the King James Version translates thus: "What doth the LORD require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Now, the modern layman reads into this passage all the meaning with which these particular modern words are charged at the present time; and the modern scholar, too, is constantly in danger of being caught in the same toils, unless he bears in mind the meaning of the Hebrew and the social situation in which the Hebrew passage itself was written. A much more literal and scientifically faithful translation of the above passage reads as follows: "What does Yahweh require of thee but to do *mishpat*?" etc. In the first place, the idea of Yahweh has the force which we have seen attaching to it in ancient Israel. But the central thought is the doing of *mishpat*, which inevitably means no more than we have been showing that it actually meant in the writings of the prophets and elsewhere in the Bible. The prophets, then, were not exponents of modern morals; and this fact has to be carried clearly in mind as we study the development of Bible religion.[1]

[1] The New Testament, as we shall see later, is as far from the modern point of view as the Old Testament. The question of human rights is not considered in the gospels; but in the epistles the legality and rightfulness of slavery are conceded. Slaves are exhorted to be obedient unto their owners (Eph. 6:5, 8; Col. 3:22; I Tim. 6:1; Titus 2:9). In these passages, the original Greek reads "bondservant," or "slave," as indicated in the American Revised Version, margin; but the King James translation renders by the word "servant," without comment. The apostle Paul sent a fugitive Christian slave back to his master (Letter to Philemon). The New Testament, however, can be counted on the side of freedom through its principle of brotherly love which, if carried out, leads to a broadening justice.

Thus, the prophetic opposition to the wealthy had no affinity with modern radicalism or socialism.—The Bible has been quoted in modern times as an authority for social radicalism. The hobby-rider has gone to it in search of material to support his cause. Passages that seem to favor his program of revolution have been cited, while the rest of the Bible has been ignored. His interest in the Scriptures attaches only to a few verses or passages. In other words, particular texts have been used without knowing what they signify in the original tongues, and, above all, without studying their *context*—i.e., the other material which bears on their meaning. Our present study, as far as we have gone, shows what a mistake it is to use the Bible in this way.

We have seen that Hebrew society, like all ancient civilization, consisted of two classes, the upper and the lower.[1] The upper class was composed of the householders, who were called in Hebrew the *baals*. This term indicates ownership, or possession. The power of the master-class took legal form in two ways—first, in its ownership of the remainder of the population; second, in its ownership of the land. These institutions were maintained by physical force. When the Hebrew nation arose at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites, two ideas about human relations came into conflict. Although these ideas were expressed in a great many ways, they turned largely around the subject of landed property, because every human being is vitally affected by his relation to the land. Now, it is a law of social evolution that the administration, or "government," of any social group will represent the interests that are active enough to control it.[2] *The fact that a large part of the population was*

[1] Chaps. vi and vii, *supra*, pp. 40–62.

[2] This law is as absolute and certain as any law within the field of science in general. It is illustrated by all history; and is no more true of the Hebrew nation than it is of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, English, Chinese, or any other people.

already organized around the commercial view of landholding constrained the machinery of the national government in support of that view. While the more directly Israelite part of the nation succeeded in placing a few kings on the throne, and in promulgating a national "platform" in the shape of the earlier Old Testament "law-codes," *the pressure of commercial civilization crowded hard upon the genial sentiments which Israel imported from the clan life of the desert.*

What the prophets really fought against, in their fierce denunciations of the wealthy, was the contraction of the master-class upon itself, and the crowding of the less fortunate *baals*, their widows, and orphans into the lower, enslaved class. The prophets never protested against human slavery, or any other institution whose logic ultimately denies "human rights." As a consequence, they have no affinity with modern democracy. The prophets are to be compared to the alert, modern business man who pays no heed to the "wage question" as it affects the "laboring class," but who protests vigorously against the competition of his big rival. Whatever the prophets, and the Bible in general, have to say about the subject of wealth and property must be studied in full view of all the Bible facts. The writings of the prophets are virtually a series of *ex parte* pamphlets in which only one phase of the issue is voiced.[1] Take the following passages, for instance, from the books of Amos and Micah; read them in view of the considerations with which we have been occupied; and remember that these men came from small country villages in Judah:

Woe to them that are at ease in Zion [the capital of the Southern Kingdom], and to them that are secure in the mountain of Samaria [the capital of the Northern Kingdom]—the notable men of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel come. . . . . Ye that put far away

[1] It may be well to say again that we are not finding fault with the prophets, but merely stating facts about them. They had to work in view of existing conditions; and they did their best according to the light they had.

the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that invent for themselves instruments of music, like David's; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief oils; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph. . . . . The lord Yahweh hath sworn by himself, saith Yahweh the god of hosts: *I abhor the pride of Jacob, and hate his palaces. Therefore will I deliver up the city and all that is therein* (Amos 6:1, 3–6, 8).

I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.[1] Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. *But let mishpat roll down like waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream* (Amos 5:21–24).

Woe to them that devise iniquity and work evil upon their beds! When the morning is light, they practice it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away. And they oppress a man and his family, even a man and his heritage (Mic. 2:1–2).

What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem? Therefore I will make Samaria as a heap of the field, as places for planting vineyards; and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley; and I will uncover the foundations thereof (Mic. 1:5, 6).

And I said, Hear, I pray you, ye heads of Jacob, and rulers of the house of Israel: Is it not for you to know *mishpat?*—ye who hate the good and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them, and break their bones, and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron. . . . . Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest (Mic. 3:1–3, 12).

[1] In primitive religion, the gods were supposed to draw near and smell the smoke of the incense and of the cooked food as it rolled upward. Thus David says to Saul: "If Yahweh hath stirred thee up against me, *let him smell an offering*" (I Sam. 26:19). In the *Iliad* of the Greeks the gods do the same. In the Babylonian tablets, the gods are described as flocking about the altar and inhaling the sacrifice.

These highly interesting and well-written passages are not scientific evidence about the merits of the transactions lying in the background. They are the outcries of two very bewildered countrymen, protesting in the name of their ancestral deity against conditions and practices that bear hard on the social class from which Amos and Micah sprang. The prejudice of the small, country property-holder against the wealthy class in the centers of population is so clearly in evidence that it cannot be denied. The prophetic protests read well; and they read still better if taken out of their context as a basis for homiletic discourse. But in the present investigation, we have to take them in view of the Bible as a whole. While they are not impartial, scientific evidence about the merits of the Hebrew social problem, they *are* scientific evidence touching the *thoughts* of certain persons and classes in the Hebrew nation. The prophets, indeed, raise the social problem without solving it. While they are evidently dealing with public, institutional questions, their point of view permits them to treat these questions *only* in terms of individualism. According to their view, all the troubles of the world arise from the bad will of certain individuals—chiefly rich persons. For the prophets denounce the mischiefs that spring from slavery (private monopoly of human labor) and landownership (or private monopoly of the soil)—they denounce the evils attending these law-established institutions, while at the same time they either tacitly or explicitly advocate the continuance of these institutions. So Jeremiah, the last of the great pre-exilic thinkers and the heir of all the pre-exilic prophets, demands only the release of *Hebrew* slaves from bondage; tacitly indorses the institution of slavery as touching non-Hebrews; and looks forward to the continuance of private landownership (34:8–16; 32:15, 43, 44). In this regard, the prophet Jeremiah stands upon common ground with the other prophets. The troubles of humanity, according to

these men, are chiefly due to the rich, who exclude the less fortunate Hebrew free men from a legal title to ownership in the world.[1]

The prophets divided into two schools—for and against the ancient "mishpat" of Yahweh.—It now becomes necessary to point out that from a very early period in the national struggle the prophets began to divide into two schools corresponding to the parties in the great conflict. Thus the prophet Nathan, of the Amorite city of Jerusalem, took the side of Solomon against the peasantry. On the other hand, the prophet Ahijah, of the Israelite village of Shiloh, came out on the opposite side (I Kings 1:8, 11–45; 11:26–40). Nathan and Ahijah mark the faint beginnings of a movement that split the company of prophets in twain. Although the kings and wealthy officials were denounced by men like Amos, they were *supported*, on the other hand, by a large and influential class of prophets. The Amos-prophets upheld the ancient, Israelite *mishpat* of Yahweh. But the other class of prophets upheld the legal and moral usages and ideas inherited from the *Amorite* side of the nation's ancestry, and they identified Yahweh therewith. The perplexing part of the situation was, that both classes of prophets thought they knew the will of Yahweh and believed they were speaking self-evident truths. As for the nation as a whole, it knew not which prophets to

[1] One of the moral tragedies of history is the assumption that the prophetic doctrine is a final statement of the social problem, and that it can be transferred bodily from ancient to modern times without scientific criticism or interpretation. Our thesis at this point is, that while the prophets are actually discussing the *social* problem, they conduct their argument only in terms of *individualism* without realizing the true nature of their subject, and therefore without having a real social program. A case in point is furnished by Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, of Cambridge University, who has given us one of the useful and scholarly modern handbooks on the prophets. "No doubt," writes Kirkpatrick, "there were not a few among the wealthy nobles of Micah's day who prided themselves on not being guilty of injustice. Yes! perhaps they were entirely within their legal rights when they seized the land of some poor neighbor who through bad seasons and misfortune and pressure of heavy taxes had failed to pay his debts and fallen into their power. But was conduct like that brotherly?"—*The Doctrine of the Prophets* (London, 1901), pp. 225, 226.

follow. The consequence was that a man believed the prophet whose words appealed to him. So the nation was divided in a way that suggests the parties in a modern political campaign.

It is hard to find the terms that will justly describe these two classes of prophets. The Amos-class might in some ways be appropriately called the "protestant" prophets; while the others, who supported the kings and nobles, might be called the "official" prophets. Again, the two schools might respectively be termed "radical" and "conservative," or "liberal" and "tory." But there are objections to all these terms. On the whole, it seems best to call the prophets who upheld the kings and wealthy classes the "regulars," while the Amos-prophets may be spoken of as "insurgents."

In the background of the writings of all the "insurgent" prophets, as we shall now call them, we can plainly see the opposing school of prophecy. There was as much difficulty then as now in finding words that clearly distinguish the two schools. In most cases, the "regular" prophets are called simply "the prophets"; and we have to depend upon the context in order to find out which prophetic school is meant. After Amos had uttered his message in the streets of Bethel, he was told by the king's priest not to prophesy any more in that place, but to flee away to Judah, where he belonged, and there "eat bread" and prophesy there (Amos 7:10–13). The king's priest here touches, in a word, upon the economic distinction between the regular and insurgent prophets. He is well acquainted with the king's prophets who preach for "bread," or wages; and he assumes that Amos would not be preaching unless he were paid for it by somebody. The only way in which Amos can show the priest that he is not a hireling prophet is by means of a paradox: He replies that he is neither a prophet nor a son of a prophet; but he is a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees; and Yahweh moved him to leave his home in Judah, and go to prophesy

in Israel (Amos 7:14, 15). It is but scant courtesy that he gets from the royal priest; and he gives but scant courtesy in return. One can imagine that if it had not been for the presence of a crowd of sympathetic and muscular shepherds and farmers, attending the market-fair at Bethel, the life of Amos would not have been worth much on the memorable day when he invaded the streets of the Ephraimite village.

The line of distinction thus indicated between the two schools of prophecy reappears again and again. Listen to Micah: "Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel, who abhor *mishpat* and pervert all equity: They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, *and the prophets thereof divine for money.*" These regular prophets make war on all who put not into their mouths; yet they lean upon Yahweh, and say, "Is not Yahweh in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us." They are prophets of Yahweh; but they uphold the usages and ideas which the nation got from the Amorite side of its descent; so they are the prophets "that make the people to err" (Mic. 3:5–11).

Isaiah declares that the most contemptible figure against which the insurgent prophets contend is the regular prophet; for he says that while the elder is the *head*, the prophet who teaches "lies" is the *tail* (9:15).[1] He is a drunkard, swallowed up of wine, and staggering with strong drink (Isa. 28:7). He will be taken away by Yahweh, along with his employers and associates in the upper class (3:1–8). He shall stumble in the night, says Hosea (4:5). He is a fool; and the snare of the bird-catcher is in all his ways

[1] This verse is taken to be a "gloss" by many scholars; but in the present case it makes little difference whether the passage were written by the original prophet, or by some later editor. In such cases, it is not necessary for the sociological student to go into the literary and historical criticism.

(Hos. 9:7, 8). Zephaniah declares that the regular prophet is a light and treacherous person (3:4).

But the bitterest invectives against these prophets were uttered by Jeremiah, the last of the great insurgents before the Exile. They shall be ashamed, along with the whole house of Israel (Jer. 2:26). They prophesy falsely; and then, by this means, the priests have dominion (Jer. 5:31; 6:13; 8:10). The regular prophets shall be dashed one against the other without pity or compassion (13:13, 14). The Temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem shall be destroyed like the House of Yahweh at Shiloh; and the city shall be desolate without inhabitant (26:1–9). On account of these utterances, Jeremiah was arrested, and brought before the court of nobles, at the gate of the Temple. He was indicted by the regular prophets and their friends for high treason; and his accusers demanded that he be put to death (26:11). It was a dramatic scene—one of the greatest moments in Hebrew history, reminding us of the appearance of Martin Luther before the Diet of Worms. Jeremiah's life was in danger. But he had friends and influence, even among the official classes whom he denounced; and although he was frowned upon, as Amos was at Bethel, he was not condemned by the court (26:16–24).[1] *The fact is, that while both schools of prophecy wanted to be authoritative in the eyes of the entire nation, each school had a powerful constituency; and the nation itself was divided into parties.*

The modern historical study of the Bible has focused attention upon one of the great prophetic schools (the insurgent) as a positive, creative element in the evolution of Bible reli-

[1] The elders of Judah, who spoke in favor of Jeremiah upon this occasion, and favored his release from the charge of high treason, did not necessarily indorse the platform of the insurgent prophets; but they were aware that Jeremiah had many sympathizers and adherents; and they knew that his death might be followed by a bloody revolution such as had already occurred more than once. Jeremiah was released on the technical ground that he had spoken in good faith "in the name of Yahweh" (Jer. 26:16).

gion. And if we now resolve the historical method into sociological terms, we shall at once lift the "regular" school into prominence as an equally necessary factor in the national development. It is hard for us to realize that the insurgent prophets of the Hebrews began their work as members of a proscribed and illegal sect, without official recognition by the public authorities.

PROVISIONAL TABLE OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS

EXHIBITING THEIR DIVISION INTO OPPOSING SCHOOLS*

"REGULARS"	"INSURGENTS"
Nathan of Jerusalem (I Kings 1:8)	Ahijah of Shiloh (I Kings, chap. 11)
Shemaiah (II Chron. 12:5–8)	Jehu ben Hanani (I Kings, chap. 16)
Zedekiah ben Chenaanah (I Kings, chap. 22)	Elijah of Gilead (I Kings, chaps. 17 f.)
Jonah ben Amittai (II Kings, 14:25)	Micaiah ben Imlah (I Kings, chap. 22)
Hananiah ben Azzur (Jer., chap. 28)	Elisha ben Shaphat (I Kings, chaps. 19 f.)
Shemaiah the Nehelemite (Jer., chap. 29)	*Amos of Tekoa
Ahab ben Kolaiah (Jer., chap. 29)	*Hosea ben Beeri
Zedekiah ben Maaseiah (Jer., chap. 29)	*Micah of Moresheth
*Nahum	*Isaiah ben Amoz
*Obadiah	*Zephaniah ben Cushi
Anonymous prophets (*passim*)	*Jeremiah ben Hilkiah
	Urijah of Kiriath-jearim (Jer. chap. 26)

*Starred names are represented by books in the Old Testament canon. Time: from David to the Babylonian exile. Note the greater proportion of insurgents in the canon as compared with regulars. Jonah is not starred because the prophet of that name cannot be identified with the Book of Jonah.

The issue between the opposing schools of prophecy was not settled until the Hebrew nation was destroyed.—The more carefully we study the Old Testament, the more we are impressed by the *unsettled* nature of Hebrew history. This fact penetrates our minds very slowly in all its breadth and meaning.

As the layman casually or devoutly reads the Bible, it seems as if Hebrew life were based upon the firm ground of a solid, fixed authority which everybody in that age must have been constrained to admit and recognize. But the more closely the situation is investigated, the more its unsettled character impresses itself upon us. Instead of being solid, fixed, and founded in a way that was recognized by everybody, Hebrew life before the Babylonian exile was fluid, unsettled, uncertain, doubtful. There was no point of appeal which was final and authoritative in the eyes of the whole nation. This highly important aspect of the Bible problem comes before us with startling distinctness in the bitter contentions between the two schools of prophecy, each with its assured "Thus saith Yahweh." Here indeed the situation seems to wind itself up into a tangle so confusing that at first no clue appears by which we may thread the dark maze of uncertainty and contradiction.

Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel declare that the regular prophets preach out of their own heart; they speak not by the inspiration of Yahweh (Jer. 23:9–40; 27:14–18; Ezek. 13:2). And Yahweh is against these prophets when they say "He saith" (Jer. 23:31). They utter lies when they say "Yahweh saith" (Ezek. 13:6, 7). Still another way of stating the case against the regular prophets appears in Ezekiel: They are deceived by Yahweh *himself!* (14:9.) They say "Peace! peace! Is not Yahweh in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us" (Mic. 3:5, 11; Jer. 6:14; 14:13–18; 23:17; Ezek. 13:10, 15). An extremely interesting and significant notice of the conflict between the two schools of prophecy is found in I Kings. Upon a very memorable occasion, four hundred regular prophets were gathered in the presence of King Ahab, advising him, in the name of Yahweh, to go forth to war against the Arameans. The king sat on a throne at the gate of Samaria, the capital city of Israel. The leader of the

prophets, Zedekiah ben Chenaanah, "made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith Yahweh, With these shalt thou push the Arameans until they be consumed" (I Kings 22:11). But now an opposing prophet comes upon the scene with a message of doom. This man, Micaiah ben Imlah, admits that the other prophets are inspired by Yahweh; but he says, "Behold, Yahweh hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets." At the same time, it is declared by Micaiah that the real word of Yahweh is not good but evil toward Ahab, and that the king will fall in battle with the Arameans (I Kings 22:17–26).[1]

This interesting story implies that the test of a prophet is the fulfilment of prediction. Exactly the same test is put forward by the Book of Deuteronomy, as follows: "And if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which Yahweh hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Yahweh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Yahweh hath not spoken. The prophet hath spoken it presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him" (Deut. 18:21, 22). This would appear to be quite conclusive; but, in reality, it does not go to the heart of the issue between the two schools of prophecy.

Elsewhere in the Book of Deuteronomy it is admitted that any prophet may utter a word that will come true; and in place of this test it substitutes the doctrine that a prophet who advocates the worship of other gods beside Yahweh (meaning primarily the Baals of the Amorites) is not to be followed, even though his words *are* fulfilled and his predictions come to pass! (13:1–5; 18:20.)[2] *Thus the Book of Deuteronomy completely eliminates prediction as a test of*

[1] As Professor Skinner says with reference to Zedekiah, "There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this man's belief in his own inspiration" (*Commentary on Kings* [New York], p. 266).

[2] When speaking of "other gods," the Book of Deuteronomy means primarily the Baals of the Amorites (6:14; 31:16).

prophecy, and puts instead of it the purely contemporary principle that the prophets are to be distinguished by the gods whose worship they advocate. In harmony with this test, Jeremiah declares that the prophets who oppose him *prophesy by Baal* (2:8; 23:13). These two Judean writers, Jeremiah and the author of Deuteronomy, worked at a very late period of Hebrew history, in the seventh century B.C., near the time of the Babylonian exile; and they were the first of the *Judeans* to take the Baals up explicitly into the terms of the *mishpat* struggle. This remarkable fact leads to another chapter of exposition.

CHAPTER XIX

THE *MISHPAT* STRUGGLE TAKES FINAL FORM

The national struggle at length took the form of a conflict between the Yahweh and Baal factors in the Hebrew cult.—The great Hebrew conflict over the problem of law and morals found expression at last in the form of rivalry between the gods inherited from both sides of the nation's descent. The contest of Yahweh against the *native* Baal-principle was absolutely necesssary to the development of Bible religion. In no other way could the religion of Israel have achieved the double result of becoming completely identified with the struggle for morality and of casting out polytheism. This is the central feature of the problem. The final result of Hebrew history was the uniting of the moral principle with the doctrine of One God. The moral struggle and the cult rivalry cannot be treated as matters independent of each other. The religion of the Bible makes its appeal to mankind as a principle which identifies God not only with the worldwide struggle against injustice, but with a fierce conflict against polytheism. The two ideas were fused into a single idea in the glowing heat of Israel's warfare. Polytheism was gradually identified with injustice; and by the same token, monotheism slowly came to stand for justice. But neither monotheism nor ethics won the battle by itself. The religion of the Bible did not achieve its victory over other cults merely because it called for men to bow down to One God rather than to many gods; nor did it rise to its final triumph on the basis of the moral issue as an abstract principle. Neither aspect of Bible religion could have been woven into results of permanent value on the field of history

without the other. Both phases of the religious evolution of Israel had to be perceived as an identity; and this result was at length secured when the *mishpat* struggle took the form of warfare between the Yahweh and Baal ideas which came from both sides of the nation's ancestry. It was only through a mighty explosion within the Hebrew cult itself that the religion of Israel became a universally exclusive principle. It was only in the process of wiping out the native Baal idea pertaining to the Hebrew religion itself that the evolutionary process came to a clear issue. So long as Yahweh continued to be worshiped by one party in the state as a god having the same character as the Amorite Baals, and so long as the gods that were inherited from the Amorites remained, the religious evolution of Israel could not go on to its logical destiny.

The initial stage of the "mishpat" struggle was a blind protest against the usages of oriental civilization.—The struggle within the Hebrew nation at *first* amounted only to a reaction of the highlanders against the monarchy, in which there was a blind protest by the more Israelite part of the kingdom against the usages of oriental civilization. The ideas and customs of the hill clans—especially in Judah and Gilead—were very similar to the usages of the desert people from which they descended. They turned against the rule of David. They were discontented under Solomon, the successor of David, "because he burdened the people with a heavy yoke." Finally they cast off the rule of Rehoboam, the successor of Solomon, because he would not reform the government. The hill clans objected to the new and strange customs that were being introduced by the national authorities; and their abhorrence was expressed in very forcible, dramatic ways (chap. xvii, p. 143). Thus we see that there was no question of rival worships in the initial stage of the *mishpat* struggle. Competition between cults did not enter into the problem. The

struggle did not at first assume the character of a contest between gods.[1]

But this is not to say that the initial stage of the struggle within the Hebrew nation had *no* religious character in any respect. We have repeatedly emphasized the intimate connection between politics and religion throughout ancient society. The customs regulating social intercourse were invariably under the jurisdiction of the gods. In accordance with this principle, we have seen that the *mishpat* which the clans of Israel brought into the hill-country was identified with Yahweh, so that the oppression of the free clansmen under the monarchy was an outrage upon their ancestral religion. From this point of view, the Hebrew struggle had a religious quality, or aspect, at the very beginning, in its first period. But it did not at once take the *form* which is characteristic of the Old Testament, in which it reduces itself to compact expression in terms of rivalry between Yahwism and Baalism. At first, there was nothing more than a blind protest, in the name of the national deity, against the legal usages that outraged the older customs of Yahweh; but this gave a natural *point of departure* for the entire subsequent unfolding of religious evolution among the Hebrews. The different stages that now follow draw themselves out in a logical order, each one arising from earlier conditions in the social life of the nation.

The second stage of the "mishpat" struggle brought Yahweh into conflict with the "border-Baals."—The kings and ruling classes among the Hebrew people had striven, either consciously or unconsciously, to identify Yahweh, the national

[1] The condemnation of Solomon for worshiping the gods of surrounding peoples (I Kings 11:1–8, 32 f.) is recognized as an insertion in the spirit of Deuteronomy. Cf. Skinner, *Commentary on Kings* (New York), pp. 173 f. But assuming for a moment that Ahijah's denunciation is historical, a number of important facts have to be noticed: (*a*) the prophet's words were privately whispered in a lonely field, vs. 29; (*b*) popular idolatry is nowhere alleged; (*c*) the references to "other gods" mention only the deities of outside peoples, not the Baals of the Amorites, vs. 33.

god, with the usages of settled commercial civilization. They did not abandon the worship of Yahweh. They acknowledged his lordship over the nation; and they supposed they were serving the same god whom the Israelite clans had brought into the country at the time of the original settlement in the Judges period. But the kings and official classes identified Yahweh with the standpoint of civilization as contrasted with the standpoint of the primitive clan. Now, civilization is a good thing in itself; but if its benefits are overbalanced by its abuses, it becomes an evil. If it ignore the welfare of the humbler social classes, and provide only for the happiness of a small, wealthy, upper class, then civilization menaces the higher interests of mankind.

This was the disease that afflicted the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and other advanced peoples of the oriental world. Their social polity was untempered by the brotherhood of the primitive clan. They smothered the ideas of justice that prevail among the backward nomadic peoples. Their slaves consisted not only of alien bondmen, but of the native-born peasantry.[1] And while the great gods of the mighty Semitic empires were probably once the divinities of simple desert clansmen, these gods had been long ago transformed, or metamorphosed, into the deities of settled civilization, identified with the customs, laws, and morals of commercial society. It was in the interest of this tendency that the official and wealthy classes of the Hebrew nation instinctively threw the weight of their influence. The kings and officials, as a rule, wanted to view the national god Yahweh in the character of a "civilized" Semitic deity, or Baal, having the same nature as the Baals of the wealthy Phoenicians, or the Baals inherited by the Hebrews from the Amorite side of their ancestry.

In the case of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and other civilized

[1] Cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 491; Luckenbill, *Temple Documents from the Cassite Period* (Chicago, 1907), p. 12.

Semites the evolution of religion went parallel, in the long run, to the movement of society from nomadism; and the gods became the patrons of the legal usages favored by the very wealthy. But the development of Hebrew nationality, as we have already seen, was *unlike* the social evolution of any other ancient people (chap. x, p. 95). The Israelite invaders found the inhabitants of Canaan broken up into small provinces, and worshiping many local Baals. The Amorites had no national government and no national god. As a consequence, it was the invaders, and not the earlier population, who supplied the national politics and religion. Thus Yahweh, a god of primitive *mishpat*, was imposed with considerable abruptness upon a civilized people. The result of this was that the transformation of Yahweh into a god of commercial civilization was *obstructed*. While the kings and wealthy classes wanted to worship the national divinity in the character of an ordinary Amorite, or "civilized," Semitic Baal, the more backward social classes persisted in connecting Yahweh with the morality of their Israelite ancestors. Thus at last we see that the great social-religious issue in the Hebrew nation came to revolve around the question of the baalizing of Yahweh.

But the process by which the people awoke to this fact was gradual and painful. The human mind always moves very slowly in the perception of a complicated problem; and even after the facts of a problem are visible to the investigator, it is another matter of difficulty to find the appropriate words and phrases in which to describe the situation so that it will be clear to other minds. This was exactly the problem that confronted the Hebrew nation; and it pressed with special force on the prophets, the spokesmen of the national interests, who were a long time in thinking themselves clear with reference to the situation. The vast religious possibilities inclosed within the national experience revealed themselves only in a very gradual way to Israel's thinkers. The "insurgent" school

of prophecy was drawn more and more into an attitude of opposition to the kings; and one royal house after another was thrown violently down (I Kings 11:26–31; 14:1–18; 16:1–7).

Following the history once more into the ninth century B.C. (900 to 800), it begins to be apparent that we are in the second stage of the Hebrew conflict. We have already considered this period from the economic standpoint (cf. p. 144); and we now take up the *religious* phase of the development. We have seen that the great prophet Elijah comes forward as the leading spokesman of this period. He utters an awful curse upon King Ahab in connection with the seizure of land belonging to the peasant Naboth (I Kings 21:17–26). The king had been acting under the influence of his Phoenician wife, Jezebel, whose former home was in the wealthy, commercial city of Sidon. Her advent as queen of Israel had been marked by introduction of the worship of the Baal of Sidon (I Kings 16:30–32). The religious complications of the problem are indicated as follows by Professor Budde:

> *Together with Baal-worship*, foreign despotic methods were creeping into North Israel, and ever wider grew the chasm between the over-refined and sensuous Court and the oppressed and impoverished people who must furnish it the means for its exuberant luxury. Palestine was a small and relatively poor country, and it must have borne hard on its people when the king undertook to emulate the rich city-kings of the Phoenicians.[1]

Here, then, for the first time, the issue took on a positive, concrete religious form! The acts of Ahab, in importing a foreign Baal cult and in oppressing an Israelite freeman, struck in with terrific force upon the imagination, and gave the prophets a new method of handling the national problem. The policy of Ahab was like an electric shock to the nation; and

[1] Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (New York, 1899), p. 119; italics ours; cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel* (London, 1897), p. 95; Kent, *History of the Hebrew People* (New York, 1903), Vol. II, pp. 87, 88.

it suggested a clearer and more definite appeal to the popular conscience. The national struggle now began to be linked, for the first time, with the clash of cults. It should be emphasized that the warfare of the national, Hebrew Yahweh against "other gods" began as a war against the Baal of a near-by people.[1] It is always easier to raise an issue by fighting your neighbor's gods than it is by fighting the gods of your own household. The dramatic importation of the foreign, Phoenician Baal was necessary as a means of ultimately raising the issue of the local gods. In the struggle against "other gods" it was a matter of difficulty to begin with the native Baals because they were many, and they confused the mind. But the foreign Baal was *one*, and attention could easily be centered upon a strange cult.

We shall never know how far the prophet Elijah went in his opposition to other gods. He has left us no writings of his own, as did the literary prophets of the following century. There is no record that he conducted any struggle against the local Baal-worship of the Hebrews; and he is connected chiefly with the dramatic fight against the foreign Baal. Reforms usually come slowly; and one change at a time seems to have been all that the sluggish public opinion of Israel, with its dark underlying mass of crude religious ideas, was capable of putting into effect. But Elijah may have been using the Sidonian Baal in a statesman-like way as a means of raising the issue of the local gods later. This conjecture agrees with the general atmosphere of the Elijah stories; and there is one bit of positive evidence pointing in the same direction. It is said that when Elijah met Ahab, at the close of the great drouth, he cast the blame for the dry season upon the king, because he had forsaken the commandments of Yahweh

[1] The struggle in the Judges period was different (see chap. xi). In that case, it stood for the military antagonism of two distinct peoples; but the memory of that struggle was operative in the minds of the prophets, as the books of Judges and Deuteronomy prove.

and followed "*the Baals*" (I Kings 18:18). The plural, not the singular, form is used here; and it is preceded by the definite article "the" (*ha-Baal-im*). Although Elijah goes on directly to oppose the Sidonian Baal, this is no proof that he did not have the local Baals in mind as a later object of attack.[1]

After Elijah protested against the Baal of the Phoenician city of Sidon, he spoke against the Baal of the Philistine city of Ekron (II Kings 1:2, 3, 6, 16). To the same effect, the JE documents denounce the Baal of Peor, i.e., Chemosh, the god of Moab, and also the gods of Aramea (Num. 25:1, 2, 3, 5; Gen. 35:2). The J and E writers are shown by modern criticism to have worked probably soon after the time of Elijah; and it is clear that in their documents the religious point of view, as regards opposition to "other gods," is on a level with Elijah's protest against the Baals of Sidon and Ekron. We have now reached a point in our study where the generalization may be ventured that the Hebrew struggle entered the second stage by putting Yahweh into opposition to the *border-Baals*, the gods of neighboring lands.

As a result of the growing protest against foreign cults, Jehoram, an early successor of Ahab as king of Northern Israel, put away an obelisk, or pillar, that had been used in Baal-worship (II Kings 3:1, 2). But the climax of the campaign waged by Elijah and Elisha was the terrible revolution of Jehu, in which the house of Ahab went down in torrents of blood. We reproduce from Kings a passage bearing on this awful change in the government.

And Elisha the prophet called one of the sons of the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this vial of oil in thy hand, and go to Ramoth-Gilead. And when thou comest thither, look out there Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and

[1] It has been suggested that the term *Baalim* refers to the Sidonian Baal, in this connection, as a "plural of dignity," just as *elohim* is applied to Yahweh; but this usage, with reference to a single foreign Baal, cannot be established.

make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an inner chamber. Then take the vial of oil, and pour it on his head, and say, Thus saith Yahweh, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, and flee, and tarry not. So the young man, even the young man the prophet, went to Ramoth-Gilead. And when he came, behold, the captains of the host were sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee, O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of us all? And he said, To thee, O captain. And he arose, and went into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus saith Yahweh, the god of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of Yahweh, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of Yahweh, at the hand of Jezebel. For the whole house of Ahab shall perish; and I will cut off from Ahab every man-child, and him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Israel (II Kings 9:1–8).

This bloody charge was carried out to the letter. Jehu killed not only the reigning king of Israel, who was one of the sons of Ahab, but the king of Judah, who was visiting the northern monarch at that time; he trod under foot the dead body of Jezebel, and caused many of the royal princes of both kingdoms to be assassinated. After this he destroyed all that he could find of the priests and prophets of the Sidonian god; violently rooted the foreign Baal-worship out of the Northern Kingdom; and then ascended the throne as a legitimate sovereign. "And Yahweh said unto Jehu, Because thou hast executed well that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in my heart, thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel" (II Kings 10:30).

An incident connected with this revolution is worthy of special notice: When Jehu was in the midst of his bloody work, he saw a man whose name was Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him. Jehu saluted this man, shook hands with him, and took him up into the chariot, saying, "Come with me, and see my zeal for Yahweh" (II Kings 10:15–17). This incident seems to be an isolated occurrence,

with no essential relation to the events of the hour. The narrative gives no explicit reason for its inclusion in the Book of Kings; and many readers of the Bible have been puzzled by the story about Jehonadab the son of Rechab. Other parts of the Old Testament, however, make it possible for us to see this incident in its true perspective. Jehonadab (or Jonadab) was the founder of a primitive sect known as the Rechabites, named after his father. The sect was instituted about this time as a protest against the ideas and usages of settled, oriental civilization (Jer. 35:1–19). The most characteristic thing about these people was their avoidance of private property in *land.* They would do nothing which implied ownership in the soil. They planted no seed, because the sowing of seed would make it necessary to possess fields; and they drank no wine, because the raising of grapes would make it necessary to own vineyards. Perhaps it was the seizure of Naboth's vineyard by Ahab that suggested their avoidance of landed property. They may have reasoned that the private holding of land was at the root of all evil. By this token, if you have no land, the kings and nobles can take no land away from you. So the Rechabites lived in tents, and followed a semi-nomadic life in the open country, away from contact with city life. One of the biblical genealogies traces them back to the roving Kenite shepherds of the Arabian desert, with whom the Israelites came into covenant before the invasion of Canaan (I Chron. 2:55). Many names occur among them which include the syllable *Yah;* and it is certain that the Rechabites were ardent champions of Yahweh. They looked back longingly into earlier ages when the primitive, brotherhood *mishpat* of Yahweh reigned without dispute among the clans of the desert. The life of these primitive tent-dwellers was a protest against the settled civilization of the ancient world; and many who did not follow their way of life shared their ideals. "I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents," wrote one of the

prophets (Hos. 12:9). All these interesting considerations make it plain why Jehu, the would-be king, was anxious to have the leader of the Rechabites know about his "zeal" for Yahweh; and when Jehonadab struck hands with Jehu, and entered the chariot, his action signified the support of the Rechabites for the usurper.

A corresponding revolution occurred a few years later in Judah, the Southern Kingdom. Athaliah, the queen, a daughter of Ahab, was killed; the priest of the Sidonian Baal met the same fate; and foreign Baal-worship was rooted out of Judah as it had been out of Israel. In place of Athaliah was installed the boy-king Jehoash (II Kings, chap. 11).[1]

The nature of the religious development of the Hebrew people comes before us with increasing distinctness and power as we study the Bible from the sociological standpoint. We see that in the second stage of the great struggle the government was revolutionized in both Israelite kingdoms. The political machinery of society was now committed officially to the principle that no *foreign* Baal-worship was to be tolerated in Israel. This was a very important step in the process by which the Bible religion was gradually set apart from the surrounding heathenism.

Nevertheless, the struggle against the border-Baals was an ephemeral stage in the development. The local gods inherited from the Amorites were still standing; and if *they* were not eventually wiped out, the war against the deities of near-by nations would have been love's labor lost. For, so long as the native Baals of the Hebrew nation remained, the cult of Israel could not become a universal, exclusive principle; and the distinctive religion of the Bible could not be born.

[1] Up to this time, the sequence of events in the Southern Kingdom with reference to the *mishpat* struggle is not so clear as it is in the Northern Kingdom. There is a vague notice of the putting-away of "idols" by King Asa many years before (I Kings 15:12, 13). This is not impossible; and it may be a sign of the greater conservatism of Judah in religious matters as compared with the north. The evolution did not necessarily move in a straight line.

The prophets Amos, Micah, and Isaiah are transition figures in the "mishpat" struggle.—Moving on from the time of Elijah, in the ninth century B.C., into the following, or eighth, century, our attention is at once arrested by the Judean, or southern, school of prophecy, consisting of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah.[1] These men, as we have already seen, were preoccupied by the social struggle; and in common with all the other prophets, they laid heavy emphasis upon "morality" (p. 148, *supra*). But they did not come to terms with the vexed question of "other gods." Micah says nothing about the rivalry between Yahweh and other divinities. Amos refers vaguely to "the lies after which their fathers walked" (2:4), "the Sin of Samaria," "the god of Dan," and "the Way of Beer-sheba" (8:14). Isaiah speaks incidentally against "idols" (2:8, 18, 20; 17:8; 30:22; 31:7). But the eighth-century southern school of prophecy has nothing to say about the *Baals*. These men did not state the problem of their times in that distinctive and final way which at length came to characterize the Bible. Although Amos, Micah, and Isaiah were well versed in *mishpat*, they were feeling their way forward; and the Judean school of the eighth century may be viewed either as closing the second, or as opening the third, stage of the great struggle that convulsed Israel.[2]

The notable tardiness of southern prophecy in taking up

[1] By Isaiah we mean the author identified with the bulk of the first thirty-nine chapters of the Book of Isaiah. The remainder of Isaiah is post-exilic.

[2] No little discussion has turned around the question of the originality of Amos and the other literary prophets. Some of the earlier critics hailed these men as the *creators* of "ethical monotheism"; but this is a passing aberration. Amos and the other literary prophets worked in view of the foregoing history of the Hebrews. Yahweh had been a god of *mishpat* all along; and the conquests of David had imperialized the national deity as a "god of gods" (see chap. xiv). Amos and his colleagues could not possibly have supposed that they were giving utterance to essentially new truths; and they do not, in fact, betray any consciousness of novelty in their message. This, however, does not prevent them from unconsciously adding to the religious thought of Israel by way of emphasis and inference. Cf. Davidson, *Old Testament Theology* (New York, 1904), p. 209; Wallis, *Examination of Society*, pp. 126, 162, 163.

the question of local Baal-worship is perhaps to be explained by the greater conservatism and slowness of Judah in religious matters, as contrasted with Northern Israel. We have already noticed that the Amorite mixture was mostly in the *north*, while the foreign elements in the south were semi-nomadic (chap. xv, p. 136). We do not know how far the Baal-worship inherited from the Amorites was practiced in eighth-century Judah; and it may have been known there but little in the time of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah. Modern investigators are beginning to discriminate between various parts of the country and between different social classes in the same parts of the land.

The Northern Kingdom of Israel was of high importance in the development of Bible religion.—"It was in northern Israel," writes Professor McCurdy, "where agriculture was more followed than in the southern kingdom, that Baal-worship was most insidious and virulent."[1] Accordingly, Professor Addis, in his work on the religion of the Hebrews, points out that the semi-nomadic, or pastoral, class of society was "especially prominent in Judah, where there is much less arable land than in the central districts of Palestine."[2] Speaking of the north, Professor Marti says: "The fertile lowlands proved to be inhabited by mighty spirits in far greater numbers than the barren uplands, where the nomads dwelt in tents. . . . . There mighty spirits were lords of the land; they were the Baals of all these localities."[3] In harmony with these writers, Professor Kautsch expresses himself as follows: "It may be that the complaint of Hosea applied in a much larger measure to the kingdom of Israel than to that of Judah. But, in any case, it furnishes a very notable testimony to the tenacity with which the belief in Baal as the god

[1] *Jewish Encyc.*, art. "Baal."

[2] Addis, *Hebrew Religion* (London, 1906), p. 82.

[3] Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament* (London, 1907), p. 91.

of the land and the dispenser of its fruits persisted amongst a *portion* of the people."[1]

The north was, indeed, of great importance in the development of Hebrew religion. The larger part of the Israelite clans established themselves here at the time of the original invasion. It was northern clans only that were present at the great Deborah battle (Judg. 5:13–23). Most of the judges were northern men. Here Samuel went from place to place on his judicial circuit. The Israelite monarchy itself was organized in this part of the country; and Saul, the first king, was a northerner. When the north separated from Judah, it retained the name of Israel. The prophets Elijah and Elisha started the struggle against the foreign Baals in the north. Here, in fact, was the great, pulsating center of Hebrew life until the kingdom of Ephraim was destroyed by the Assyrians. The north was less in touch with the desert than was Judah. It contained the bulk of the walled cities; it was furrowed by the paths of commerce; and thus it was more exposed than Judah to all the influences of civilization.

In the third stage of the "mishpat" struggle, Yahweh at last came into conflict with local Baalism.—At the very time when the eighth-century Judean school of prophecy was engaged upon the social and religious problem, a prophetic star of the first magnitude arose in the Northern Kingdom. Hosea ben Beeri marks an advance upon Elijah, upon the JE documents, and upon the southern school of the eighth century. His ideas and language were suggested to his very sensitive mind by the prevailing Baal-worship in Ephraim, and also by a harrowing personal experience. A great sadness came into his home. He discovered that his wife was unfaithful. This heavy affliction gave to him the figure of Israel playing the "harlot" against Yahweh—committing "whoredom" by following the local Baals which came from the Amorite side of the

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, ext. vol., p. 645; italics ours.

nation's ancestry. It was through Hosea that these very striking terms came into the vocabulary of expressions relating to the national conflict. This prophet makes frequent use of the term "Baal" (Hos. 2:8, 13, 14–17; 11:1, 2; 13:1). By suggesting the idea of a radical conflict between Yahwism and the native Baalism as an expression of the entire *mishpat* struggle, he makes an advance upon his predecessors and contemporaries. A northern prophet, then, was the first old Testament leader to bring the local Baalism into the *mishpat* struggle; and we have already seen that the struggle against *foreign* Baalism commenced in the north under Elijah in the century before Hosea.

Yet Hosea did not find language that makes his idea perfectly clear, so that one who runs may read. He talked about *mishpat* as Amos did; but, unlike Amos, he also talked against Baalism. His way of speaking does not, however, make the connection of the two matters obvious at first glance. The whole subject was "a new thing under the sun"; and the problem was too vast for one man to accomplish more than a fraction of the task of stating it in a clear way. Hosea did not put the prophetic thought into its final biblical form. His religious thought appears to have been formed through bitter personal experience, rather than by reflection upon the problem. He is emotional rather than rational; and his point of view is to be inferred from his book as a whole, rather than from any single passage in it. With Amos, he stands for the poor and speaks in the cause of *mishpat*. On the other hand, he is greatly concerned about the local Baals, who scarcely figure in Amos. But while Hosea is at the same time against injustice and against Baalism; and while he evidently sees a connection between the two; he nowhere finds the words and phrases that bring his thought out clearly. The ultimate development of the issue took place under the ministry of later prophets.

Soon after the time when Hosea threw the local Baals into the Hebrew struggle, the Northern Kingdom encountered an overwhelming catastrophe. It was destroyed by the Assyrians, who carried away the Ephraimite upper classes into a captivity from which they never emerged. Hosea, therefore, was the last northern prophet.

After the destruction of Ephraim, the center of interest in Hebrew development was transferred to Judah, the Southern Kingdom.—With the collapse of northern Israel, the entire Hebrew process contracted itself abruptly into the limits of the Southern Kingdom; so that we must go on to a study of conditions in Judah in order to reach the climax of the prophetic movement. The struggle between parties, which had been going forward so long on the broader stage of Hebrew life as a whole, was now condensed within a small territory and the little Hebrew state passed through a number of highly interesting reactions. First, the "Amorite" influence was in the ascendent; then the "Israelite" influence would rule for a time; and so the evolutionary process went on, taking up elements from both parties in the great struggle.

The "Amorite" reaction under King Manasseh.—After the Judean prophets Amos, Micah, and Isaiah had passed away, a great reaction against their teachings took place under Manasseh. Their doctrines were officially repudiated by the government of Judah. Now, for the first time, the Book of Kings mentions the practice of Amorite Baalism in the Southern Kingdom. It is said that King Manasseh did "after the abominations of the nations whom Yahweh *cast out* before the children of Israel," and that "he reared up altars for Baal" (II Kings 21:2, 3), or "for the Baals" (II Chron. 33:3).

The reaction was not a mere matter of the cultus, or the external forms and objects of worship; for in that age of the world, as we have repeatedly seen, religion, politics, and law were one and the same. Baalism was the symbol of the

Amorite standpoint. "Swearing by Baal" went along with the legal practices contrary to the earlier *mishpat* of Yahweh (Jer. 12:16). Accordingly, the narrative in Kings goes on to say that the prophets of Yahweh testified against the king, "because Manasseh, king of Judah, hath done these abominations, and hath done wickedly above all that the *Amorites* did that were before him" (II Kings 21:10, 11). This provoked the government into bloody measures which may be compared to the persecution of Protestants at the time of the Reformation. We read that "Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another" (II Kings 21:16; 24:4). The memory of this fierce persecution was vivid in the recollection of the people when the prophet Jeremiah lived; and he probably refers to the bloodshed under Manasseh when he says, "Your own sword hath devoured your prophets like a destroying lion" (Jer. 2:30). Truly, Jerusalem killed the prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto her (Luke 13:34).[1]

This persecution, set on foot in the interests of Baalism, was an awful thing; but it was no more terrible than the bloodshed committed in the name of Yahweh at the time of the revolution of Jehu, when foreign Baalism was driven out of the land. Both parties in the *mishpat* struggle took the same violent methods.[2]

Manasseh was crowned at the irresponsible age of twelve;

[1] Is it simply a coincidence that this king was the first and only Judean monarch to bear a distinctly northern name? "Manasseh" was a northern clan, a "son of Joseph," and implicated in the Baalism of Samaria (Gen. 48:1; Amos 6:6; Judg. 6:15).

[2] We have seen that one of the biblical writers held that Yahweh himself set the seal of divine approval on the wholesale assassination whereby the usurper Jehu gained the throne (p. 180, *supra*, and II Kings 10:30). In the same way, the Book of Deuteronomy, speaking in the name of Yahweh, enjoins the killing of all Israelites that worship the Baals (Deut., chap. 13, and Exod. 22:20). It should be said in justice, however, that some of the prophets learned to take a higher view. Hosea, for instance, in the name of Yahweh, condemned the bloodshed under Jehu (Hos. 1:4). These interesting differences between the Bible writers themselves, in regard to such a vital matter as the taking of human life, are among the many proofs that there was no absolute authority, or law, which all parties in the Hebrew nation acknowledged as divinely binding.

and it is not likely that the Amorite policy connected with his name was due to the king himself (II Kings 21:1). The events of Manasseh's reign show that the Baal party was in the ascendant for the time being. But we are now to see the opposite party once more in control.

The "Israelite" reaction under King Josiah.—All social history tends to vibrate between the rule of different "interests." The party that captures the legal machinery of a nation is able to dictate the official program of society, and thus to move the arm of the entire group. But a movement in one direction provokes a tendency toward the opposite extreme, just as a pendulum swings back and forth. So the Amorite policy identified with Manasseh was at length reversed. An uprising of the peasantry in the country outside the capital put the boy Josiah on the throne of Judah at the early age of eight. Josiah "seems to have been made king by a popular movement in opposition to a strong party at court."[1] This revolution, like earlier ones, was an affair of blood; and it was carried through by "the people of the land," the *am-ha 'areṣ* (II Kings 21:23, 24).

The struggle of parties was largely a contest between the wealthy class in the fortified cities and the peasantry of the highland villages. This is in strict harmony with the origin of the Hebrew nation itself at the point of coalescence between Amorite city-states and Israelite clans from the Arabian desert. Now, it should be emphasized that social conditions in the Southern Kingdom prolonged this reaction up to the very last. The mixture with the Amorites was not so thorough in Judah as it was in Ephraim, being mostly at such places as Jerusalem, Libnah, Gibeon, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, and elsewhere on the *borders* (II Sam. 5:13; II Kings 23:31; II Sam. 21:2; Judg. 1:33; II Kings 14:11; cf. Micah 1:13).[2] Up in the

[1] H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (New York, 1903), p. 260.

[2] Libnah actually revolted from Judah in the reign of Joram (II Kings 8:22). Lachish must have been largely foreign throughout the entire history of Israel. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 234.

wilder hill-country of Judah, the foreign admixture was not Amorite but semi-nomadic, being more in accord with the original customs and ideas of the Israelite clans (cf. p. 136, *supra*). The "civilization" of Judah was, indeed, more backward than that of Ephraim; and the people and environment were more primitive. Doubtless the peasantry of the south got some temporary measure of relief through the movement that put Josiah on the throne; but in view of the testimony of Jeremiah and Zephaniah who prophesied in the reign of this king, and who took the same tone as Amos, it is clear that the accession of the eight-year-old prince brought no permanent benefit for the poorer classes.

Another "Amorite" revolution takes place.—Ten years after the "people of the land" had put their candidate on the southern throne, the powerful arm of the government in Jerusalem was captured by a force that worked it in the opposite direction. The entire machinery of Hebrew religion was taken suddenly out of the hands of the country people, and centralized in the capital city. It is clear from what followed that the peasantry were taken by surprise. The highlanders of Judah had conducted the worship of Yahweh at little village churches, or *bamoth*, ever since the time of the Israelite conquest. For instance, Absalom paid a vow to Yahweh at the church in Hebron, a village in the highest part of the southern uplands (II Sam. 15:7–12). It was near Hebron, the Israelites piously believed, that the patriarch Abraham built an altar to Yahweh (Gen. 13:18); and here, indeed, according to ancient tradition, the ground had been sanctified by a theophany in which the god of Israel had appeared to Abraham and told him about the wickedness of city life (Gen., chap. 18). The entire clan to which David's family belonged had an annual reunion during which they sacrificed to Yahweh at the shrine of Beth-lehem (I Sam. 20:6, 28). Here Samuel came to worship at the time he selected the son of Jesse as the future king of Israel (I Sam.

chap. 16). Around these village altars had gathered the devotion and faith of the Hebrew people for hundreds of years; but now, in the eighteenth year of the boy-king Josiah, the local sanctuaries were suddenly abolished by royal decree!

There has been a steady progress among professional scholars toward a clearer understanding of this important epoch in Hebrew history. The startling revolution which took place in the reign of Josiah has been the subject of an immense amount of discussion in modern times. On the face of the narrative in Kings, the reformation of the cultus was "caused" by the mere accidental discovery of a little roll, or book, which was brought from the Temple in Jerusalem, by a priest, and put suddenly before the young king (II Kings 22:8 ff.). According to the account, this book was promptly received as the word of Yahweh by everybody, from the king down. The contents of the book are unknown to us, except through inference; but the revolution in the forms of worship, which occurred at this time, corresponds in many ways to our present Book of Deuteronomy, wherein the centralization of the cultus at *one place* is commanded (Deut. 12:10–14); and it is commonly assumed that the roll of writing brought to the king by the priest Hilkiah was the "first edition" of Deuteronomy. It cannot be successfully disputed that such a writing became public in the reign of Josiah, and that a change in the forms of worship took place in some sort of relation to it. Our main fault lies in the tendency to view this particular crisis out of connection with the rest of Hebrew history. Professor James Orr, for instance, in his work on the religion of the Bible, says that "investigation *naturally begins* with the narrative of the finding of the 'book of the law' in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah."[1] It is indeed natural for one

[1] Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament* (New York, 1906), p. 256. (Italics ours.) We have previously considered the "Deuteronomic" revolution from our present standpoint in a paper entitled "Professor Orr and Higher Criticism," published in the *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1908, and also in a paper in the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1907.

who has the training and presuppositions of Professor Orr to look at such a matter out of relation to the general movement of Hebrew history. He lightly accepts the statement that the newly discovered book was received as authoritative by "all the people" (II Kings, 23:1 ff.), and bases a heavy argument on the exact literality of the entire narrative.

But the revolution which occurred in the eighteenth year of Josiah takes its place, along with other historical items, as one of the steps in a process of development. The leading modern scholars, in the course of their investigation of the Deuteronomic problem, have already foreshadowed the view that the startling change in the cultus under Josiah was really a species of *counter*-reformation. All parties to the discussion assume at least a general correspondence between (1) the book found by the priest Hilkiah, (2) the Book of Deuteronomy, and (3) the cultus changes described in II Kings, chap. 23. Reasoning on the ground of this general assumption, Cornill justly observes that "Deuteronomy represents a compromise and alliance between prophecy and priesthood, which *resulted*, however, in benefiting the *latter only*."[1] Marti says that it was not the prophetic religion, but the priestly cultus that profited by the reformation.[2] Kautsch declares that the reform "remained for the mass of the people simply a royal decree which showed its effects in a variety of *external* matters, but, so far as inward disposition was concerned, left everything as before."[3] Loisy writes: "The *nabis* [prophets] who helped the reformation were those rather who . . . . believed in the inviolability of Zion. They were the nationalist and optimistic prophets, whom Jeremiah treated as false prophets,

[1] Cornill, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1907), p. 62. (Italics ours.)

[2] Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament* (London, 1907), p. 189.

[3] Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ext. vol., p. 700. (Italics ours.) Even Driver, with his characteristic reserve, says that the author of Deuteronomy has greater sympathy with priestly institutions than the prophets generally (*Commentary on Deuteronomy* [New York, 1906], p. xxx).

although they might be as sincere as himself in their convictions."[1]

These observations help us to grasp the essential meaning of the revolution which took place in the reign of Josiah. As a rule, the great insurgent prophets had not been friendly to the priesthood and the mere external forms of religion. The dispute at Bethel, between the prophet Amos and the priest Amaziah typifies the situation (Amos 7:10–17). The priests were appointed by the kings; and they were consequently the creatures of the wealthy official classes. The centralization of worship at Jerusalem was a victory for the priests, the scribes, and the city party in general. It foreshadowed the rise of Judaism. The great reformation of Josiah indeed brought the Hebrew cultus into a form something like that which we find in the New Testament period, when the Jews held that in Jerusalem was the place where men ought to worship (John 4:20, etc.). In the time of Jesus, the temple at Jerusalem was popularly regarded as the one legitimate place of sacrifice for Israel; and the great mass of the people were under the rule of aristocratic priests and scribes. The aristocratic ideal of the "Amorite counter-reformation" is explicitly declared in a late, Deuteronomic passage inserted in the Book of Samuel: "And I will raise me up a faithful priest. . . . . And it shall come to pass that every one that is left in thine house shall come and bow down to him for a piece of silver and a loaf of bread, and shall say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices, that I may eat a morsel of bread" (I Sam. 2:35, 36). Such was the exalted place which the priesthood eventually took as a result of the centralization of the cultus at the capital.[2] The boy-monarch, without realizing the nature of the forces that moved him, seems to

[1] Loisy, *The Religion of Israel* (New York, 1910), p. 188.

[2] Of course, the insignificant priests of the village altars were not benefited by this revolution (II Kings 23:9).

have fallen into the hands of the "Amorite" party; and the pendulum had completed another swing.

History was now pressing hard upon the Hebrew people. The Northern Kingdom was already blotted out of existence—a ghostly memory; and the Southern Kingdom was becoming more and more involved with the great world-powers of oriental civilization. About fifteen years after the reform of the cultus, Josiah was killed in a battle with the Egyptians at Megiddo (II Kings 23:29).

"Israelite" reaction again.—Aroused once more to common action, the "people of the land" asserted themselves again. Passing over the "crown prince," Eliakim, the eldest son of Josiah, the people chose as king another son, Shallum, who assumed the crown under the name Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:30; Jer. 22:11; I Chron. 3:15). The popular triumph was very brief. The new king had reigned only twelve weeks when the pendulum swung violently back.

The "Amorites" return to power, upheld first by the Egyptians and then by the Babylonians.—The popular sovereignty implied in passing over the crown prince Eliakim could not be tolerated by the Egyptian emperor. So he deposed the people's choice, and put the crown prince on the throne, changing his name from Eliakim to Jehoiakim. A heavy tax was laid on the "people of the land," who were awed into submission (II Kings 23:33–35). Judah had now become the football of the world-powers. In a few years the disposition of international politics underwent a great change. The Egyptians were defeated by the Babylonians; and King Jehoiakim, the creature of the Egyptian emperor, transferred his allegiance to Nebuchadrezzar, the emperor of Babylon. It was to be expected that Jehoiakim, ruling by grace of these foreign masters, would be a man of no popular sympathy. Such a monarch, being supported by the most ancient commercial civilizations of the eastern world, naturally took the civilized,

"Amorite" standpoint rather than the more primitive Israelite point of view; and it is not surprising to find that the insurgent prophet Jeremiah preached fiercely against him as an oppressor (Jer. 22:13–19).

We have gone into historical details rather freely for the sole purpose of clearing up the political and geographical background of the *mishpat* struggle in its final and most important stage; and we now turn once more away from external events to study the evolution of ideas.

Jeremiah and other Judean writers, having local Baalism chiefly in view, at last identified the worship of "other gods" with opposition to the "mishpat" of Yahweh.—After Hosea, who raised the issue of local Baalism without stating it in compact and logical form, the next great figure to come into notice was the prophet Jeremiah. This interesting champion of Yahweh came from the little country village of Anathoth, "in the land of Benjamin," several miles north of Jerusalem (Jer. 1:1; 32:8). Like Amos and other insurgent prophets, Jeremiah represented the standpoint of the peasantry. The land of Benjamin lay a little to the north of Judah. On its western border was the once Amorite city of Gibeon; while the once Amorite Jerusalem stood on the southern border. Jeremiah's home influences were such as to give him a close insight into the needs of the peasantry; and he was not so remote as Amos from the central currents of "civilization." After Jeremiah began to preach, he spent a great deal of time in Jerusalem itself. Here were most of the wealthy officials whom he wanted to influence; and hither came crowds of people out of the villages and cities of Judah on matters of business, politics, and law.

Jeremiah was at once the heir of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah, in the south, and of Elijah and Hosea, in the north. While the substance of his message is common to all the prophets, he has an individuality of his own. His remarkable emphasis

upon the Baals was taken from Hosea; but Hosea handled the native Amorite element in the Hebrew cult like an amateur when compared with his follower in the south. Jeremiah is the first of the Judean prophets to work the local Hebrew Baal-worship over into the terms of the *mishpat* struggle. This outcome was in harmony with the logic of the entire conflict, from the beginning of the struggle in the revolts of the peasantry against David and Solomon. The Baals were identified by immemorial usage with the standpoint of oriental civilization; they were the divine symbols and representatives of settled commercial and agricultural society. But from the time when the Israelite invasion rolled in from the desert, a large part of the nation identified Yahweh with the law and morals of a more primitive social state. The conflict of standpoints worked out all through Hebrew life. The half-nomadic highlanders in Judah were even more backward than the northern peasantry; and as a result, the distinction between social classes was more vivid and the conflict of standpoints more glaring in the Southern Kingdom than anywhere else in Israel. The religion of the Hebrews reached its final development in the south. Judean prophetic writers formulated the Bible problem in those peculiar combinations of words and phrases that have moved the mind of subsequent generations all over the world. Verily, it was by no accident that instruction went forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem (Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2).[1]

Jeremiah carried the Hosean figure of Baalism to its logical issue as a definite, explicit *symbol* of opposition to the *mishpat* of Yahweh. It was through Jeremiah and the Deuteronomic school of writers that the social struggle at last found expression in terms of rivalry between the local cults of the Hebrews themselves. When Jeremiah denounces the wor-

[1] Concerning the eighth and seventh centuries, Professor Guthe writes: "The old antitheses *remained;* but they had become subtler and more *profoundly apprehended.*"—*Encyc. Biblica*, col. 3867. (Italics ours.)

ship of "other gods," it is primarily the local Baals that he has in mind as dreadful examples (Jer. 2:23; 7:9; 9:14; 11:13, cf. 3:24; 11:17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13; 32:35). Over and over again, he condemns the Baal-worship going on around him. In order to make as clear as possible the function which the Amorite part of the Hebrew cultus played in the development of Bible religion, a simile may be employed here: When a lever is used for prying an object loose, it has to be *supported* upon something. The means of support is called a "fulcrum." Now, the native Baal-principle in the early religion of Israel was the "fulcrum" used in detaching the Hebrews from the worship of "other gods." The conflict between the moral standpoints inherited from the Israelites and Amorites was at last viewed as a rivalry between Yahweh and Baal. The moral struggle was figured as a cult war. Thus we come back to the origin of the Hebrew people at the point of coalescence between Amorite Baal-worshipers and Israelite worshipers of Yahweh.

Holding these considerations in mind, let us glance at the writings of Jeremiah as they bear on this point. Having the local Baal-worship chiefly in view, the last great prophet before the Babylonian exile makes "other gods" the definite, explicit symbols of all that the insurgent prophets abhor. This evil people, who refuse to hear the words of Yahweh, are gone after other gods (13:10). They have forsaken Yahweh—and walked after other gods: forsaken Yahweh—and have not kept his law (16:11). Walking after other gods becomes the symbol, or figure, for breaking the law of Yahweh as declared for centuries by his prophets. Yahweh will utter his *mishpat* against the people in regard to all their wickedness, in *that* they have forsaken him and burned incense to other gods (1:16). Thus, the native Hebrew Baal-worship, representing the Amorite ancestry of the people, serves as the foil against which prophecy throws its heaviest force in the

third stage of the *mishpat* struggle. The great conflict of legal and moral ideas was at last put into its characteristic religious terms.

The Deuteronomic parts of the Old Testament began to take form at this time.—The method thus painfully discovered by the religious thinkers of Israel spread itself out over Hebrew literature *as the Old Testament came into being.* The Book of Deuteronomy is a Judean product, issuing from the times of Jeremiah, but with many later additions. As modern critical study has proved, a primitive Deuteronomic work, in the form of the "Hilkiah-book," was the first Old Testament writing to be officially adopted as "canonical Scripture." We have already seen that the leading feature of the Hilkiah-book was apparently the centralization of the cultus in the hands of the city party. Whatever the nature and extent of this "counter-revolution" may have been, it left the local Baal-worship standing, as the testimony of Jeremiah and Zephaniah shows; and the present expanded Book of Deuteronomy ranges itself alongside of Jeremiah in treating the moral struggle as a contest between the native divinities, regarded as two distinct principles. It is the Baal-worship derived from the Amorites that is chiefly referred to by Deuteronomy (7:1–5, 25; 12:2–4; 12:30; 20:16–18; 31:16). The worship of the Baals is equated, or identified, with everything that the prophets abhor. Thus the people shall not turn aside from *any* of the words of Yahweh *to go* after "other gods" (Deut. 28:14). In another passage, of remarkable force, walking after other gods is declared to be the precise opposite of observing the commandments, statutes, and ordinances (*mishpatim*) of Yahweh (30:16, 17). It is interesting to notice that, in these general passages, *mishpat* means the same as *ḥukkoth* (statutes), *toroth* (instructions, or laws), *miṣwoth* (commands), and *eduth* (testimonies).[1]

[1] Cf. I Sam. 30:25, where David made a certain rule "a *ḥok* and a *mishpat* for Israel."

The Deuteronomic writers now turned back to the old records and stories of past history, and, as they themselves declare, worked a *part* of this ancient material up into our present books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings (cf. chap. iv, "The Making of the Old Testament"). We have so frequently spoken of the Deuteronomic editors of Judges, Samuel, and Kings that this phase of the subject will present no difficulty. The method which is now before us works automatically forward in the development of the Bible. The Deuteronomists took pleasure in reading and studying the old narratives of the Judges period. In these fascinating stories about the first epoch of the Israelite invasion and settlement of Canaan, the Israelites and Amorites were as yet *apart* from each other; so that the deities of these two peoples (Yahweh and the Baals) were distinct, sharply contrasted gods. The Deuteronomic school made very impressive use of these old narratives, and worked them up into a remarkable production, the "Book of Judges" (cf. chap. xi, *supra*). The books of Samuel and Kings are likewise great monuments of Deuteronomic industry. We read in Kings that if the people do not observe the *mishpat*, etc., of Yahweh, *but* shall go and serve "other gods," then Israel shall be cut off and cast aside (I Kings 9:4, 6, 7). The case here stands exactly as it does in Jeremiah and in Deuteronomy. Worship of other gods is the convenient symbol, or figure, for breaking the *mishpat* of Yahweh. The entire situation is finally summed up, from the Deuteronomic standpoint, in the concluding part of Kings as follows: The children of Israel feared "other gods"; that is, they walked in the statutes (*ḥukkoth*) of the nations whom Yahweh cast out before Israel (the Amorites). Therefore Judah and Israel were also cast out, and carried away into exile (II Kings 17:7, 8, 19, 20, 35, 37).

After the Amorite Baal-worship had been seized upon for central emphasis, and carried over into the midst of the

struggle, the way was open for a broader and more philosophical view of the entire situation. Opposition to the *mishpat* of Yahweh could now be spoken of either as following the gods of the Amorites, or as walking in the *mishpat* of the Amorites, precisely as in the last citation from Kings. It now began to be seen that the Hebrew struggle was a reaction between two different ideas of *mishpat*, growing out of the double ancestry of the Hebrew nation. This way of putting the case would have been impossible to the prophets of the eighth-century Judean school. To Amos, the struggle was not between two different ideas of what *mishpat* was. He would not so dignify the claims of his opponents. To the simple shepherd from southern Judah, the conflict was between the one, genuine *mishpat* of Yahweh, on the one side, and "wormwood," on the other side (Amos 5:7; 6:12). According to Micah, the official classes were ignorant of *mishpat* (3:1–2). And Isaiah, in words like those of Amos, declared that the rulers turned sweetness into bitterness, light into darkness (5:20). The earlier prophets could not express themselves more clearly than this; and so they were not conclusive. They were fighters dealing with a situation whose merits and possibilities they could not wholly see. But by the time of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists, the intellectual outlook of the Hebrew mind was clearer; and the nature of Hebrew history began to be a little better understood. Of course, the Bible nowhere presents a modern scientific statement of the case; but the later prophets began to be conscious, as the earlier ones were not, that the force dragging the nation down to ruin was Amorite law and morals persisting among the people.[1] Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists had before their eyes the

[1] This explains why the earlier prophets (such as Amos, for instance) never say, "Do not do as the Amorites do." For if the earlier prophets thought about the race matter at all, they pictured the Amorites as destroyed root and branch (cf. Amos 2:9 f.). They did not realize that the Amorite blood and customs continued to exist under the name of Israel. This paradox complicates the situation for ancient and modern thinkers alike.

spectacle of aliens who had been brought into the territory of Northern Israel from other parts of the Semitic world, whose *mishpat* (like that of the Amorites) was contrary to the ancient usages of the Yahweh cult (II Kings 17:24–41). History was always doing something to open the eyes of the prophets; and this object-lesson could not fail to be impressive and enlightening.[1]

The Deuteronomic attitude toward the Amorites had a marked influence on the prophet Ezekiel, who wrote in Babylonia during the Captivity: "Cause Jerusalem to know her abominations." "Thine origin and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite. The Amorite was thy father" (16:2–3, 45). Israel did not do after the *mishpat* of Yahweh, but after that of the nations round about (11:12); and because they did not execute the *mishpat* of Yahweh, he gave the people *mishpat* wherein they could not live (20:24, 25). Continuing our quest for the Deuteronomic idea, we turn from Ezekiel to the "Code of Holiness" which composes the central part of the Book of Leviticus (chaps. 17–26). Here we find the same tone: Israel shall not do after the doings of the land of Canaan. They shall not walk in the statutes (*ḥukkoth*) of the former inhabitants. *But*—they shall do the *mishpat* of Yahweh (Lev. 18:3–5).[2] Finally, the Deuteronomic writers go far back into the nomadic era, and picture Yahweh telling

[1] Exception may be taken to this example on the ground that *mishpat* in this passage refers only to ritual usages. But the notice explicitly states that the imported aliens continued to worship other gods along with Yahweh (vss. 29, 30), and that they did not keep the *ḥukkim* (masculine plural of *ḥok*, usually *ḥukkoth*), the *mishpatim*, the *torah*, and the *miṣwah* of Yahweh (vs. 37). Even on the surface, then, this case embodies vastly more than a mere contrast in ritual usages; and we should be entitled to infer as much in the very nature of the situation.

[2] The "abominations" of the Amorites cannot be viewed as restricted to sexual impurity by the biblical writers, although this form of sin is included with the rest, as one which develops with excessive wealth. The Book of Leviticus itself, which puts the *mishpat* of Yahweh over against that of the Amorites in such a broad and general way, is careful to show that the law of Yahweh includes all that the pre-exilic prophets had in view (Lev. 19:13–15; 25:35–41). In order to avoid overloading the text, we have omitted the sex problem from the argument.

the patriarch Abraham that his posterity shall inherit the land of Canaan *when* the iniquity of the Amorite is *full* (Gen. 15:16). In due time, Yahweh redeems his promise; and the Amorites are *said* to have been utterly swept away (Josh. 10:40–42; 11:16–19, 23; 21:43, 44). Thus the conception at length emerged into view that the struggle which convulsed the Hebrew nation throughout its entire history was a dramatic warfare conducted by Yahweh himself against the law and morals identified with the former inhabitants of Canaan.

The editorial point of departure in the making of the Old Testament is condemnation of the Hebrews for walking after "the iniquity of the Amorite."—In our study of the making of the Old Testament, we learned in the first place, that the Hebrew Bible was arranged by writers and editors who were not contemporary with the events described, and who made use of many earlier documents which they inherited from their forefathers. In the second place, we saw that their object, or purpose, in all this literary activity was a *moral* one. The writers of the Bible were sitting in judgment on history, and uttering moral verdicts on the past. We are now prepared to see that the men who gave us the Old Testament did not state their moral views primarily in a general, or abstract, way. Their ideas were formed on the basis of the actual experience through which the Hebrews had slowly passed in the long course of their social-religious development. *The editorial point of departure in the making of Scripture is condemnation of the Hebrews for adopting Amorite law and morals.*[1]

[1] The priestly documents, which are still later than the Deuteronomic parts of the Old Testament, are preoccupied with matters of ritual and cognate questions. Hence they do not discuss the Amorites, who are sufficiently treated of by their predecessors. Yet the Deuteronomic attitude toward the former inhabitants (like the law of the central sanctuary) is implied in the priestly documents as part of the foundation upon which they build. The priestly ritual is ordained for the protection and conservation of the prophetic work.

CHAPTER XX

RELIGIOUS EFFECT OF THE EXILE

The Babylonian Exile completed the destruction of Hebrew nationality.—The ruin of Jerusalem was the climax of Hebrew misfortune. The prostration of the Southern Kingdom brought into awful relief the fact of Hebrew annihilation; for the kingdom of Ephraim had been already swept away. The maelstrom of world-history had swallowed the north Israelites; and now, far away in Babylonia, the exiles from Judah beheld with amazement the manners and customs of a strange land. The modern reader can best picture to himself the effect of these things upon the Hebrew mind by putting himself in the place of the exiles, and imagining his own feelings if his native country were called upon to go through a similar experience. "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. Upon the willows in the midst thereof we hanged up our harps. For there they that led us captive required of us words of song. . . . . How shall we sing Yahweh's song in a strange land?" (Ps. 137:1–4). This plaintive wail has come down to us through the ages from the distant exilic time; and while it is quite familiar, we do not often pause to think of the circumstances that inspired it and the heart throbs that are in it. The Captivity was the utter prostration of Israel. "We are clean cut off. Our transgressions and our sins are upon us; and we pine away in them. How then can we live? Our bones are dried up; and our hope is lost" (Ezek. 33:10; 37:11). No social organization remained in which Hebrew life and thought could express itself. The people were humbled in the dust. The walls of Jerusalem were broken down. The city was destroyed. The Temple of Yahweh stood in ruins. "Zion is become a

wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation!" exclaimed a writer in the Exile. "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant places are laid waste" (Isa. 64:10–11).[1]

The Exile was an important factor in the conversion of the Hebrews from polytheism to monotheism.—We can hardly overestimate the importance of the Captivity in the development of Bible religion. The destruction of Hebrew nationality was a vindication of the great insurgent prophets who had agonized and suffered in the long centuries before the Exile. Baal-worship had been at length identified with all that the great prophets abhorred; and as the captives marched across the desert, the words of Jeremiah rang ever more loudly in their ears: "Baalism brings evil to Israel!" In the light of this thought the Hebrews learned to take the calamity of the Exile as a vindication of the prophets. And the same events that justified one school of prophecy discredited the opposing school. "Where now are your prophets that prophesied unto you, saying, The king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor against this land?" (Jer. 37:19). The prophets who taught the people to swear by the name of Baal, and who said, "Peace, peace; no evil shall come upon us"—these men were forever silenced by the majestic march of history. "Thy prophets have seen for thee false and foolish visions; and they have not uncovered thine iniquity to bring back thy captivity, but have seen for thee false oracles and causes of banishment" (Lam. 2:14). Thus the "regular" prophets came to be branded as "false," while Amos and his class rose to the dignity of "true" prophets. Through these heart-shattering experiences, the Baals and all other gods beside Yahweh were at last thrown aside; and the exclusive worship of the one morally "true" God gained its victorious ascendency over the Hebrew mind.

[1] This passage comes from the late exilic, or post-exilic, part of the Book of Isaiah (chaps. 40–66).

The exiles were not carried away all at once, but in two bands, and at two different times about ten years apart. When the first band was deported, the city of Jerusalem was left as yet untouched, under a native king, Zedekiah, who reigned by appointment of the Babylonians (II Kings, chap. 24). In this first band of captives there was a man who was destined to become famous, the prophet Ezekiel. When Ezekiel began to prophesy to the captives in Babylonia, the city of Jerusalem was yet standing; and the last great calamity had not fallen on the home land.

The earlier part of the Book of Ezekiel has much to say about the wickedness and the impending destruction of Jerusalem. This remarkable prophet of the Captivity condemns the same sins against which the insurgent prophets declaimed—injustice and polytheism (Ezek. 22:1–10; 8:1–17). The capital must soon fall. The God of righteousness and purity can abide no longer in the corrupt city of Jerusalem. This thought is emphasized with startling effect in Ezekiel's awful vision of Yahweh in a terrible fiery chariot (Ezek. 1:4 ff.). The "Glory of Yahweh" is outraged by the abominations committed in its presence at the Temple of Jerusalem. The climax comes when the dreadful chariot rises grandly from the city, emitting thunders and lightnings, and forsakes the Holy Land! Ezekiel's peculiar vision enforced the moral lesson of Israel's history (Ezek. 9:3; 10:4–19; 11:22–24). Other prophets opposed him; but he warned the people against them. At last the Babylonian king laid siege to Jerusalem and ruined the city. Ezekiel was vindicated and the other prophets were silenced (II Kings, chap. 25; Ezek., chap. 13; cf. 24:1).

The Captivity gave the religion of the Hebrews a world-perspective.—The prophets before the Exile were so much taken up with questions close at hand that they did not spend much time upon the broader problem of Hebrew history as a whole. The question as to the meaning of Israel's experience, and the

place of the nation in the history of the world at large, was hardly raised before the Exile. Jeremiah hinted that Jerusalem should be the gathering-place of the nations, and that the peoples of the earth should bless themselves in Yahweh (Jer. 3:17; 4:2).[1] The nations were moved about by the will of Yahweh (Amos 9:7). He brought the Assyrians against Ephraim as the instruments of divine retribution (Isa. 8:7–8). Yet the earlier prophets were so close to Hebrew history that they did not get a wide outlook upon it; and so they did not clearly state a *philosophy* of it.

But the Exile made it possible to look at Hebrew history on a broader background. With the Captivity there came a wider perspective. New vistas of spiritual insight now opened before the eyes of the prophets. It slowly became clear that the national experience had a universal meaning. So Ezekiel writes: "Not for your sake do I work, saith the lord Yahweh. . . . . Be ashamed and confounded for your ways, O house of Israel! I work not for your sake, O house of Israel, *but for my holy name*" (Ezek. 36:22, 32). Ezekiel's doctrine of the name stands in logical connection with his fiery celestial chariot. The God of Glory, who rides in the center of the awful vision that haunts the prophet, is working forward through the complex process of world-history with a moral purpose.

The national god of Israel at length became the Redeemer of Mankind.—The idea of God, steadily developing in response to the pressure of the social problem, was becoming more and more fit to stand at the center of a world-religion. The Exile enlarged the spiritual horizon of the Hebrews, and suggested new ideas to the finer and more thoughtful minds among them. The national downfall confirmed the prophets in the habit of reading the events of history in the light of a divine purpose.

[1] A similar prediction is common to the books of Micah and Isaiah (Mic. 4:1–3; Isa. 2:2–4); but this may be post-exilic.

The relation of Yahweh to Israel was now made subordinate, or incidental, to the larger salvation of the world.

> Behold my Servant, whom I sustain—my Chosen, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my spirit upon him. He shall bring forth *mishpat* to the nations. . . . . A cracked reed he shall not break, and the dimly burning wick he shall not extinguish. He shall faithfully bring forth *mishpat*. He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set *mishpat* in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law (Isa. 42:1–4).

The mighty outlines of the gospel of redemption thus came slowly but surely into view. Yahweh will make his holy name known throughout all the earth, in order that mankind shall be redeemed from sin, and released from the shackles of injustice. Israel was the instrument through which this purpose was to be accomplished. Only thus, by deep and bitter experience, was the human mind prepared to entertain the idea of God as a moral person whose field of work is all history.[1]

The conquest of Babylonia by the Persians awoke the prophecy of return from Captivity.—The interpretation of history in the light of an overshadowing divine plan is illustrated by the remarkable prophecy of Israel's release from Exile. A great army from the northeast, led by Cyrus, king of Persia, was descending upon Babylon; and as the mighty host rolled onward, a message of cheer was given to the captives: "I have raised up one from the north; and he is come—from the rising of the sun one that calleth on my name. And he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. Cyrus [the king of Persia] is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and of the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (Isa. 41:25; 44:28). At last, after many years, the Captivity is to be broken; and the exiles may return. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people saith your God. Speak to the heart of

[1] "In the Exile, Israel's religion had attained its maturity. Virtually no more growth can be observed in it."—Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York 1904), p. 137.

Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her time of service is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she hath received of Yahweh's hand *double* for all her sins" (Isa. 40:1–2; cf. Jer. 16:18). At length Israel is to return across the wilderness to the home land. The prophet speaks in a figurative way about the journey through the desert: "The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Yahweh! Make level in the desert a highway for our God! Every valley shall be filled up; and every mountain and hill be made low; and the uneven shall be made level, and the rough places plain" (Isa. 40:3–4).[1]

The conception of Yahweh as Redeemer took form around the idea of the "goel."—While the biblical idea of God grew up on the lines of the social process through which the Hebrew nation passed, the God-idea took on its final form around one of the most beautiful figures in Hebrew life. The *goel*, גֹּאֵל, was a man who (among other offices) "redeemed," or "bought free," a needy relative who had been sold into slavery through debt (Levi. 25:48, 49). The *goel*-idea was applied to Yahweh by the later Old Testament prophets. Yahweh would redeem Israel from the Captivity (Jer. 50:33, 34; Isa. 43:14). He would redeem Jerusalem (Isa. 52:3). The tradition of a dramatic rescue from an Egyptian bondage now began to take shape (Exod. 6:6; 15:13, etc.). Yahweh was the Savior and Redeemer (Isa. 60:16). He ransomed his people from the power of death and the grave (Hos. 13:14). He also redeems the individual from destruction, or "the pit"; and he executes *mishpat*, or "judgment," for all that are oppressed (Ps. 103:4; Lam. 3:58). As a compassionate *goel*, Yahweh became the Redeemer of mankind.

[1] We have made selections indicating the drift and the historic atmosphere of this remarkable prophecy; but the opening chapters of the exilic Isaiah should be read entire (beginning at chap. 40) in order to get their exalting stimulus.

CHAPTER XXI

THE JEWISH CHURCH AND THE *TORAH*

In the post-exilic epoch, Judah was reconstituted under foreign authorities.—On the political, or secular, side of history, the outstanding fact of the post-exilic age is the re-establishment of Judah.[1] The Judeans, or "Jews," were the remnant of the old Hebrew, or Israelite, kingdom. The characteristic figure in the political rehabilitation of Judah is, of course, Nehemiah. This man was a wealthy Jew, attached to the Persian imperial court. Judah had been already marked off as a province of the empire; and Nehemiah was one of a succession of governors appointed to rule it under the authority of Persia. He is identified with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. This achievement is a fitting symbol of his relation to Judaism; for he gave a strong impetus to the tendency to segregate the Jewish people in distinction from the heathen peoples of the ancient world. The following quotation gives an interesting glimpse at the reconstructive process, and suggests the economic and social position of Nehemiah and the leaders of Judaism.

From the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor. But the former governors that were before me were chargeable unto the people, and took of them bread and wine, at the rate of forty shekels of silver. Yea, even their servants bare rule over the people. But so did not I, because of the fear of God. Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall. Neither bought we any

[1] This chapter with those that follow, like the rest of our sociological study, is not an investigation of details. For the treatment of events it is necessary to go to the many excellent historical works now available.

land. And all my servants were gathered thither unto the work. Moreover, there were at my table, of the Jews and the rulers, a hundred and fifty men, besides those that came to us from among the nations that were round about us. Now that which was prepared for one day was one ox and six choice sheep. Also fowls were prepared for me; and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine. Yet for all this I demanded not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people. Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people (Neh. 5:14–19).

The work of Judaism was the consolidation, or hardening, of the prophetic religion in the habits of a sufficient number of people to make it a *permanent social force* in the world. The reconstituted Israel became "the Jewish church"; and although the Jews often lost sight of their larger mission, or gave it a grotesque and impossible interpretation, the post-exilic history is as full of broad human meaning and service as the earlier and more creative times of the great prophets.

The Jews, like other peoples, misunderstood their own past.—The post-exilic Israelites imagined themselves to be of "pure," or "unmixed," racial origin. They did not understand that the Hebrew kingdom had originated at the point of coalescence between Israelites and Amorites. The real facts of Hebrew history and religion were buried in a mass of old writings which only the few had opportunity to examine; and even these few lacked the training necessary to interpret everything they read. The majority of post-exilic Jews were so taken up with the struggle for existence that they had no time for careful study and knowledge. The most the popular mind could carry was a rough averaging of past history in the form of tradition. The time before the Exile was converted into an age of supernatural wonders; and Israel took a new start amid a world laboring under difficulties and problems of its own.

The "Torah," or "Law of Moses," was compiled and adopted after the Captivity.—We have already learned that the establish-

ment of a "canonical," or official, sacred literature began under King Josiah before the Exile. At that time, the "first edition" of Deuteronomy was brought forward from the Temple at Jerusalem, and officially adopted through the influence of the party which had obtained control of the government (p. 191, *supra*). According to the Deuteronomic law, the entire machinery of worship was to be centralized in the capital city. From this achievement, as a beginning, the "Law of Moses," or "Torah," was prepared on the basis of traditions, documents, and law codes, that had been accumulating for many centuries.

The men who brought together into a single *corpus* the complicated material called the "Torah," will never be known. But we have the account of Ezra, "the priest and scribe" (Ezra 7:21), a half-mythical figure, who looms up suddenly in the post-exilic period with the "Torah" in his hand. This Law, which we may suppose to be approximately our "Pentateuch," was publicly adopted and acknowledged by the Jewish authorities in the age now under consideration (Neh., chap. 8). *But it is important to observe that even the Jewish tradition itself admits that the Law had no vogue before the Exile. "Our kings, our princes, our priests, and our fathers did not keep thy Torah, nor hearken unto thy commandments and thy testimonies wherewith thou didst testify against them* (Neh. 9:34).

The other books of the Hebrew Bible were prepared and adopted at various times between the Exile and the Christian Era.—The Torah was the nucleus around which the Old Testament, or the Hebrew Bible, took form. The times at which the other books were written and taken up into the sacred literature are not known to us; but the indications are that the Hebrew Bible came into existence very slowly. When the Sacred Canon was at last completed, it was referred to, not as one book, but as "the Law, the Prophets, and the

Writings" (*Torah, Nebiim, u' Kethubim*). Thus we see that the Old Testament, in the form under which it stands before us, reverses the actual order of historical development, for the prophets did their work before the Law was known; and the Torah was one of the results of their struggle.[1]

[1] Not until after the Exile did the word "torah" acquire the modern, technical sense of the "Mosaic" law (Ezra 7:6 ff.). On the canon, see Wildeboer, *Origin of the Old Testament Canon* (London, 1895), pp. 22, 31; and Ryle. *Canon of the Old Testament* (London, 1904); chap. v.

CHAPTER XXII

JUDAISM AS EXTERNAL AUTHORITY

The teachings of the insurgent prophets now became one element in a legal scheme of religion.—The preparation and adoption of the Torah took place after the Exile because the mind of Israel was now ready for it. If the people had not been prepared for the Law by the experiences of their national history, they would not have accepted it in the post-exilic period. The history of all the nations of antiquity records the growth of traditions which, in one way or another, came to be accepted as authoritative. Hebrew life was no departure from this rule. In the time before the Exile, *two* traditions, represented by two opposing schools of prophecy, battled for legal recognition and status. In the final issue, the Baal tradition was defeated; and the Yahweh tradition became "authoritative" in the eyes of posterity. Law is not the cause of social evolution; it is rather a deposit of history, and a condition of subsequent experience. The Mosaic Law, instead of being the force that set the peculiar development of Israel in motion, was itself the product of that evolution.

To the Jews, the Torah was the most sacred part of the Hebrew Bible.—While the entire Old Testament was looked upon as the product of divine inspiration, the Jews venerated the Torah as the result of a peculiarly high revelation. In the Law of Moses, God spoke with a weight and an intensity not found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Hence the books of the prophets were placed on a level of inspiration decidedly inferior to that of the Torah. This appears to be strange to the modern Christian who has been taught that the divine quality attaches equally and uniformly to the entire Old

Testament. But the Jew found nothing unnatural or difficult in such an apprehension of the Scriptures.

The Torah enthroned the priesthood, and silenced the prophets.—The adoption of the Torah was a visible guaranty that the law of God was no longer a subject of party dispute. The conflict of rival schools of prophecy had ended. From now on, the divine will could not be an open question, as it had been before the Exile. For the commands of God were now crystallized in the form of a *book*. Religion was made a matter of minute and carefully prescribed rites and ceremonies designed to guard and preserve the worship of God from all profane contact. The worship, or "cultus," was in charge of administrators, or priests. The commands of God, being in written form, the scribes and priests were its natural executors and interpreters. The practical effect of the Torah, therefore, was to set the priestly class in the very center of Jewish life.

Thus we see why there was no place for new prophets among the controlling factors of the Jewish church. Prophecy, which was one of the most important forces in the evolution of the Bible, was banished from history by the Bible itself. "There is no more any prophet!" exclaims a post-exilic writer, whose words are a commentary on this phase of Judaism (Ps. 74:9).

But while there was no longer a field for the ministry of new prophets like Amos and Hosea, the work of the pre-exilic prophets was not lost. Their essential demands were present in the Torah itself; and their books, although viewed as the product of a lower degree of inspiration, were included within the Hebrew Bible. The very insistence of the Jewish church upon the exclusive worship of One God made it impossible to ignore the work of the remarkable men whose labors had raised ethical monotheism into a living power in the world.

The legal ritual did not satisfy the highest spiritual needs, but it practically extinguished idolatry. It gave palpable expression to the

spiritual nature of Jehovah [Yahweh], and around and within the ritual, prophetic truths gained a hold of Israel such as they had never had before. The book of Psalms is the proof how much of the highest religious truth, derived not from the Law but from the Prophets, dwelt in the heart of the nation, and gave spiritual substance to the barren forms of the ritual.[1]

Under Judaism, Bible religion took the form of an authoritative decree laid down by an oriental sovereign.—As Jewish life dropped out of touch with the past, the pre-exilic history of the Hebrews was less and less understood. The ancient writings remained, it is true; but the scientific method of historical research had not yet been born. In this atmosphere the Hebrew Bible (our "Old Testament") reached its final shape. Yahweh was now systematically pictured as the Creator of the universe. The Old Testament, in fact, begins as a kind of universal history. But in the third chapter of Genesis the purpose of Scripture comes to light. The problem of "good and evil" emerges into view (Gen., chaps. 3 f.). Yahweh's first method of dealing with the problem is that of physical destruction through the Flood (Gen., chaps. 6 f.). When this fails he tries the method of ethical redemption, by training the children of Abraham to be a blessing to all the families of the earth (Gen., chaps. 12 f.). From out of the flame and smoke and thunder of Sinai he promulgates the "Torah," as a finality, once for all, just as an absolute oriental sovereign lays down his decrees (Exod., chaps. 3 f.). The modern conception of historical development was impossible to the ancient mind. So under Judaism the Bible religion took a form which (unconsciously) denied the fact of development itself.

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (New York, 1891), pp. 313, 314; cf. Carpenter, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1903), p. 153.

CHAPTER XXIII

JUDAISM REJECTS THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Society has always included contrary tendencies within its developing structure.—The growth of social institutions takes place at the point of contact between two or more classes, races, or "interests." In the long period before the Exile, Hebrew society was ruled alternately by the Israelite and Amorite traditions inherited from its double ancestry. When the Israelite tradition was dominant, the social problem was recognized; and when the Amorite tradition obtained ascendency, the social problem was rejected or suppressed. The ruin of the nation led to the triumph of the Israelite standpoint and the establishment of "the Jewish church." Like all social institutions, however, the Jewish church came into being at the point of contact between "interests." Although Judaism developed the appearance of great fixity and solidity, the principles on which it was based represented contrary tendencies. "Jewish religion," as has been truly said, "is to a large extent a fusion of inconsistent elements, of prophetic and priestly origin, respectively."[1]

The social problem was at length rejected by the forces that silenced prophecy and enthroned the priesthood.—Speaking of the priests in the Roman period, Professor Riggs observes: "The emoluments of their office brought them wealth and luxury, and gave them little interest in the spiritual demands of their exalted position."[2] The priests and scribes were the custodians and administrators of the Torah; and while in most cases they were devoted to the worship of One God as earnestly as the great prophets, they tended to identify religion with

[1] Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (New York, 1898), p. 28.

[2] Riggs, *History of the Jewish People* (New York, 1900), p. 227.

the ritual forms and ceremonies by which the One God was worshiped. Ritualism was necessary to the devotion and consecration by which the Bible religion grew strong in the world. "For the great majority of people, rites and ceremonies are a necessary expression of their religion, and a necessary aid to its nourishment."[1] But ritualism carries its own peril with it. The danger that lay before Judaism was the tendency to fight the worship of "other gods" without opposing the injustice and unrighteousness with which "other gods" were identified by the great prophets. A large part of the membership of the Jewish church compromised with ritualism; and this was true especially of the leading priestly families and their wealthy allies. While Judaism brought much that was noble into the world, and while it established a positive religious advance, it included a strong tendency to bring back the ancient "Amorite" tradition under a new and subtle form.

The work of the great prophets before the Exile gave expression to a prejudice against the wealthy, in which there was little or no attempt to draw distinctions; and it was only as this prejudice was partly overcome that rich men like Nehemiah (*supra*, p. 209) were able to share actively in the reconstitution of Israel and the establishment of the Jewish church. Wealth is necessary to the religious process. The reconstitution of Israel was very largely the work of consecrated rich men. These men paid the bills of Judaism; and in time the upper classes began to regard themselves as the proprietors of the Jewish church. There was always a tendency among the Jews to identify the wealthy and the priestly classes, and merge them in a single body opposed to the interests of the common man.

Although there could no longer be a conflict of parties over the question, What is the will of God? (since the divine Law was now in book form), yet there could be a difference of opin-

[1] Editorial, *Biblical World*, (Chicago, November, 1911), p. 292.

ion over the *interpretation* of the Law. And here the priests and scribes, and their wealthy allies, had the advantage over the common man. For the Law was in their official keeping and they could interpret it in their own way. The great prophets would have denounced the forces that ultimately came into control of Judaism. According to the New Testament, the scribes and Pharisees tithed mint, and anise, and cummin, but left undone the weightier matters of the Torah —especially justice, or *mishpat* (Matt. 23:23; Luke 11:42). They devoured widows' houses; and then made long prayers (Mark 12:38–40; cf. Isa. 5:8, etc.). They unconsciously witnessed that they were the successors, or "sons," of them that slew the prophets (Matt. 23:31).

On the whole, the social problem was rejected by the Jewish church. The problem itself was not abolished, of course; but it no longer took the positive, creative place in religious life that it held before the Exile. This was because the religion of Israel was already created. There would have been nothing for prophecy to do at this time, save to criticize. And thus the rejection of the social problem went along with the silencing of prophecy and the enthronement of the priesthood.

The common man took the same place in Jewish society that he had in all the ancient civilizations.—While the re-establishment of Israel brought with it a positive religious advance, and registered a large gain on the spiritual side of the evolutionary process, it brought no great relief to the common man. From the purely economic standpoint, Jewish society was organized upon the same institutional basis that prevailed in all the great civilizations of antiquity.[1] The Jewish upper classes held the

[1] The Torah enjoins kindness and charity for the poor; but even supposing charity was actually practiced as there demanded, it still remains a fact that charity has no effect on the rate of wages. Other things being equal, the civilization in which there is the largest *spirit* of charity will be the one in which the common man will ultimately achieve the largest liberty. But it is the rate of wages, and not the practice of technical "charity," that measures the liberty of the people and the final success of civilization. The picture drawn by ben Sirach, at which we glance below, accords with all that we are able to discover about the lower classes in Jewish society.

lower orders in slavery, monopolized the soil, and controlled the operations of commerce and manufacture. A most interesting and instructive piece of testimony relative to the Jewish estimate of the common man is found in the Wisdom of Sirach, which we reproduce:

The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise.

How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow; that glorieth in the shaft of the goad; that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors, and whose discourse is of the stock of bulls? He will set his heart upon turning his furrows; and his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.

So is every artificer and workmaster, that passeth his time by night as by day; they that cut gravings of signets; and his diligence is to make great variety. He will set his heart to preserve likeness in his portraiture, and will be wakeful to finish his work.

So is the smith sitting by the anvil, and considering the unwrought iron. The vapor of the fire will waste his flesh; and in the heat of the furnace will he wrestle. The noise of the hammer will be ever in his ear; and his eyes are upon the pattern of the vessel. He will set his heart upon perfecting his works; and he will be wakeful to adorn them perfectly.

So is the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet; who is alway anxiously set at his work; and all his handywork is by number. He will fashion the clay with his arm, and will bend its strength in front of his feet. He will apply his heart to finish the glazing; and he will be wakeful to make clean the furnace.

All these put their trust in their hands; and each becometh wise in his own work. Without these shall not a city be inhabited; and men shall not sojourn nor walk up and down.

They shall not be sought for in the council of the people; and in the assembly they shall not mount on high. They shall not sit on the seat of the judge; and they shall not understand the covenant of judgment. Neither shall they declare instruction and judgment; and where parables are, they shall not be found. But they will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handywork of their craft is their prayer (Sirach 38:24–34).[1]

[1] The Book of the Wisdom of Sirach was written more than a century before the time of Christ. It was never adopted into the Hebrew Bible. We quote from the Revised Apocrypha (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York), but with different punctuation and paragraph arrangement.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE STRUGGLE FOR DELIVERANCE

The Jews longed for deliverance from trouble.—In the midst of social conditions like those at which we have just glanced, it is but natural that a great longing for deliverance and help should grow up. The Jewish "messianic hope" has been one of the stock themes of Christian theology. It was at first viewed by the gentile world as a thing essentially unique, standing out of relation to the common thought of mankind; and the subject was not set in its true light until recently. Only in the last generation have we been able to see it in connection with the universal forces that move history.

All peoples have had the desire to escape from difficulty and graduate into a happier condition. Without this feeling, the movement of progressive civilization would be unthinkable. The Jewish longing for deliverance, redemption, or salvation, was founded upon tendencies that are potent wherever men are found; but the hope itself took a form peculiar to the time and the people among whom it arose. The thoughts of the Jews naturally flowed in the channels cut by their ancestry. The pre-exilic Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, looked up to their god for help. Where the Babylonians trusted in Marduk, and the Egyptians in Amon, the Hebrews had faith in Yahweh. They believed that Yahweh would save them from their enemies and make them triumphant over their foes, in his good time, or "day." The original idea of the Day of Yahweh was therefore base and materialistic. In opposition to this view, the great prophets declared that the Day would be (1) a time of punishment, after which (2) a righteous remnant would be saved and glorified. The destruction and exile of Israel was regarded

as the fulfilment of the first part of this prediction. "Israel went into captivity for their iniquity, because they trespassed against me" (Ezek. 39:23). After the people had received of Yahweh's hand "double" for all their sins (Jer. 16:18; Isa. 40:1–2), and after Judah was reconstituted in the Holy Land, the *second* part of the prophetic anticipation began to be heralded. For it was clear to all the people—upper and lower classes alike—that the actual state of things prevailing after the Captivity could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be the miraculous utopia of the prophets. So the idea of a coming time of deliverance worked like a ferment in the Jewish mind. Redemption was to be accomplished by Yahweh through the instrumentality of his "anointed one," or "Messiah" (*mashiach*). These expectations included various elements of a supernatural, apocalyptic nature, familiar enough to Christians in later ages.

The messianic hope took different forms among the different social classes in Judaism.—Common to the expectation of all classes was the miraculous, apocalyptic, supernatural character of the coming age of glory. But, on the ground of this common view, there was a very sharp distinction between the messianic ideas held by different elements among the Jews.

Upper-class Messianism.—The great priestly families, the officials, and the wealthy in general, were opposed to the domination of Judah by foreign powers. The drain of tribute paid to outsiders reduced the amount which the Jewish upper classes themselves could extract from the country. They were therefore theoretically in favor of breaking the foreign yoke. But, in a prudent spirit, they wanted to leave the deliverance to the intervention of God himself. Being in better circumstances than the mass of the people, they could better afford to "wait on God." Their idea of the messianic age, and of the Messiah himself, was in theory political; but

in practice it was tempered by a discreet accommodation to the powers that actually ruled the world. The upper-class idea of the messianic age is found in the following passage: "Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks; and foreigners shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers. But ye shall be named 'the priests of Yahweh.' Men shall call you 'the ministers of our God.' Ye shall eat the wealth of the nations; and to their glory shall ye succeed" (Isa. 61:5–6).

Lower-class Messianism.—On the other hand, while the Jewish lower classes looked also for a supernatural golden age, their idea of the messianic time differed from that of the aristocracy. For they desired not only to be released from the rule of outsiders; but, in the spirit of Amos and the other great prophets, they wanted to be freed as well from the rule of the Jewish upper classes. The lower-class idea found expression in the following passages: "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit . . . . ; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the *poor*, and decide with equity for the *meek* of the land. . . . . He shall bring forth *mishpat* to the nations. . . . . He shall bring forth *mishpat* in truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set *mishpat* in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law" (Isa. 11:1–4; 42:1–4).

Thus we see that the messianic idea took different forms among the different elements of society. The upper classes wanted foreigners to come and do their work, while the Jews ate the wealth of the nations and succeeded to the world's glory; but the lower classes were infected with social revolution, and wanted to set *mishpat*, or justice, in the land.[1] Unless the sociological and economic aspects of Jewish Messian-

[1] The Messianism of the masses, however, does not seem to have been so sane as that of the great prophets.

ism are held sharply in mind, the real nature of the situation will not be clear to us.

The long period between the re-establishment of Judah and the time of the New Testament is complicated by the rise and fall of Jewish parties and by conflicts between Jews and foreigners. The sources of historical evidence for this period are scanty; and the only clue to the interpretation of the evidence is the play of interests moving in the channels cut out by the evolution of Israel before the Captivity. The Law was not always interpreted in the interest of the upper classes. In the Greek period, for instance, the Torah was the symbol of revolt against wealthy priests and foreign oppressors. But this revolt itself established a priestly government which in time fell out of touch with popular interests.

A revolutionary uprising by the lower class caused the Romans to destroy Judah.—The final catastrophe of Judaism occurred under the Roman empire, and is directly traceable to a messianic uprising of the lower class. It was begun by the common people, and at first had the form of an insurrection against the Roman authority. Its real nature is well exhibited in the chronicle of Josephus, a Jewish historian who belonged to the aristocracy. With reference to the conduct of the upper class in this crisis, Josephus writes:

> The men of power, with the high priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Sion].

Concerning the lower class at this time, he says:

> The seditious part [of the people] had the lower city and the temple in their power. . . . . They grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further. . . . . The king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness; and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were reposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to

dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. . . . .

At which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, went into the vaults underground, and concealed themselves. . . . . The high priest was caught where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother. . . . .[1]

Being convinced that it was impossible to avoid revolution, the upper class attempted to organize the movement, hoping to make terms with Rome later. But this was impossible; and the situation drifted into anarchy. At last, in the year 70 A.D., a Roman army destroyed the city of Jerusalem; and the Hebrew nation vanished from the stage of history. Long before this, the Jews had been widely scattered over the world; but now they were a people without a country, save where they became citizens of other nations.

In the midst of this time of high social stress, when the religion of the Bible seemed to be on the point of destruction, it went through another stage of development, and began to spread abroad in the world under the form of Christianity. This phase of its evolution will occupy us in the following part of our study.

[1] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book II, chap. xvii, secs. 5, 6, 9.

PART IV

THE SPREAD OF BIBLE RELIGION

FOREWORD TO PART IV

In this part of our study we seek to learn how the religion of the Bible escaped the limits of Israel and spread abroad in the world. Without minimizing the great work of Jesus and Paul, we try to show that the interpretation of Christianity, as well as that of Judaism, should reckon with the external, social order. It has been claimed that the New Testament stands for a purely personal evolution; and that Christianity was a movement outside the existing state-religion. There is a sense in which this is true; but the same truth applies to Judaism and the Old Testament. For at the time the great prophets did their work, they too, like Jesus and the early Christians, were antagonistic to the "established" religion; and the prophetic point of view did not become "official" for several hundred years. The New Testament religion passed through the same phases. The mere fact that a religious movement in antiquity is not at once articulated with state machinery is no proof that such a movement has no sociological meaning.

A word of caution may be well here. Our emphasis upon sociological and economic facts does not mean that we find in these facts a complete philosophy, or explanation, of history. Sociological investigation, like other kinds of scientific research, deals with a series of "unknown quantities." The chemist, for instance, gives us working-formulas for chemical reactions between the "elements" of matter; but the elements themselves remain a mystery. And even though chemistry has the character of a scientific discipline, it does not reveal what an "element" is. In the same way, sociology looks upon persons as elements in the social process. But while personality comes within the terms of social evolution, sociology does not

undertake to solve the mystery of personality any more than chemistry undertakes to solve the mystery of matter. Sociology, in other words, deals with a complex mass of unknown quantities. The application of the foregoing remarks to the previous chapters, and to those that follow, is evident. In studying the spread of Bible religion, we claim only that the work of Jesus lends itself to interpretation "within the terms of the social process," even though the personality of Jesus remains a mystery. The religion of the Bible, in its outstanding idea of the Redeeming God, supplies the foundation on which Christian history has been transacted. Sociology aims not to solve the problem of Jesus, but merely to assist in the *statement* of the problem.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WORK OF JESUS

The religion of the Bible at length took a new form.—Christianity arose within the Jewish church in a way similar to that in which Methodism arose within the Church of England. Jesus was an adherent of the old faith; and the first Christians were viewed, by themselves and by others, merely as a party within the fold of Judaism. The confession attributed to Paul, in the Book of Acts, indicates the standpoint of the disciples of Jesus: "After the *Way* which they call 'a sect,' so serve I *the God of our fathers*, believing all things which are according to the Law, and which are written in the Prophets" (Acts 24:14). The Christians at first could only testify that they had a "Way." This Way had been taught by Jesus; and he was himself the personal symbol of the Way. Christianity, being a new phase of the fundamental religion of the Bible, addressed itself primarily to the feelings; and the Christians were slow in perceiving its logic. The term "Christianity" does not occur in the Bible. The name "Christian" is found in the New Testament only three times (Acts 11:26; 26:28; I Pet. 4:16). This name was coined apparently by enemies of the movement. Christianity carries with it a part of the sense of Jewish messianism, together with a new meaning.

Christianity is continuous, but not identical, with Judaism.—In approaching Christianity and the New Testament from the sociological point of view, we are confronted at the start by the fact of *continuity*. The entire Bible is embraced within the scope of a single process of evolution. Christianity is an outgrowth of Judaism. The New Testament is bound up with the Bible of the Hebrews, logically as well as physically. The Christian church is the child of the Old Testament

church. The Christian saint finds his prototype in the Israelite in whom there is no guile. In brief, Christianity is a development *within the terms* of the religion of Israel. To claim anything less than this would be to cut the ground from under the feet of Christianity. The fact of continuity has always been recognized by the common sense of the great leaders of the church, as well as by the instinct of the rank and file; although from the very first, some persons have supposed that the Christians were setters-forth of strange gods. Judaism and Christianity alike worship the Redeeming God of the Bible; yet they contemplate the redemption of the world from different points of view. The difference between them turns around the work of Jesus; and although the contrast is very small in theory, its practical effects are of large importance.

The religion of the Old Testament has a tendency to take the character of an abstract idea.—A Christian writer once told the Hebrews that the character of God was expressed by the Hebrew prophets in "divers portions and in divers manners" (Heb. 1:1). The prophets evolved a long series of thoughts which at length flowed together into the conception of the Redeeming God. This agrees with our study of the development of Bible religion. The God-idea which breaks forth on us from the Old Testament as a whole is the product of a long evolution. Different parts of the finished conception were supplied by different prophets and schools of thought. The Jew—the post-exilic Hebrew—inherited a "philosophy," even though his conceptions were not evolved in the same way that Greek or German philosophy develops. The Greek philosopher went through a process of abstract thinking. The Hebrew lived through a process of concrete experience. The methods in the two cases were different; but the final results are in the same category. Both Jew and Greek evolved philosophy, but by different routes.

The Jew, however, was prevented by his "group-interests" from viewing his religion as a philosophical abstraction.—The religion of Yahweh was bound up with the national welfare of the Hebrews, just as the religion of Chemosh was bound up with the national welfare of the Moabites. The battles of Israel were the battles of Yahweh. Church and State were united. The religion of Israel was the symbol of national unity; and it was an assertion of the nation's integrity as against the rest of the world. This principle was true not only of the old Hebrew kingdom before the Exile; it was equally true of post-exilic Judaism. Religion was bound up closely with the interests of Jewish patriotism, and with pride in the Hebrew race as the "chosen people of God." It was the interpretation of his religion in terms of his own "group-interest," then, that prevented the Jew from taking his religion as a mere abstract philosophy. It was this consideration alone that gave life to post-exilic Judaism; and so, even today, *orthodox* Judaism is a matter of race.[1]

Since gentile society cannot become Hebrew, it necessarily treats the Old Testament religion as a philosophical abstraction.—For many reasons, orthodox Judaism is impossible as a cosmopolitan religion. The foundation of the problem is the conflict between the group-interests of Jews and gentiles. Any foreign people who desired to practice the religion of the Hebrews in ancient times would have had to renounce their political integrity and merge themselves in Israel. But it was practically impossible to break down the barriers between ancient social groups in any such free and easy fashion. Judaism, in spite of its deep spirituality and its high moral appeal, could not be identified with the patriotism of the gentile because it was already identified with the patriotism of the Jew. While a few foreigners might, as individuals, attach themselves to Israel, the gentile world could not enter

[1] We are not here speaking of "reformed" Judaism.

into the Jewish nation and become Hebrews. Consequently, the gentiles remained outside of Judaism. In the very nature of the case, the non-Jewish world looks at Judaism from the outside. And when the Old Testament religion is regarded thus, in a purely external way, without being mediated by group-interests, it has the character of a bloodless abstraction, devoid of life and meaning. The prophetic identification of God with morality meant little or nothing to the gentile. This is why the Hebrew Bible interests the Christian so little as compared with the New Testament. The Law and the Prophets never can be so popular as the Gospels.

How, then, has the gentile world received the Bible religion?—It is a plain matter of fact that this religion, which was at first confined to a social group known as "Israel," overflowed its barriers and spread throughout the world. How did this result come to pass? How did the religion of the Redeeming God break through the social barrier that lay between Jew and gentile? What force made a breach in "the middle wall of partition"? How was the God of Israel appropriated by the gentile world? How did the Bible religion clothe itself in the form of the Christian church? The solution of this problem is as mighty as it is commonplace; and it involves far more than appears on the surface. We cannot really understand the Christian church as a fact of human history unless we understand the Old Testament. We shall see the *New* Testament through a clouded glass until we are able to see it as a logical item in the process that began far back in old Hebrew times.

The central and most impressive ceremony around which the Christian church is organized.—In approaching the institution called "the Christian church," the sociologist at once investigates the most important rite, or ceremony, *practiced* by organized bodies of believers. It is not the Christian organization itself that calls for special study and explanation. People

organize for all sorts of purposes. We find social groups everywhere. It is not the mere fact that Christians are gathered together in groups that calls for special attention. Social science wants to know what the Christian church actually *does*, as an organization, to distinguish it from other organizations.

The central and most impressive rite, or ceremony, of the Christian church is the "Holy Communion." In this rite, the believer partakes of the flesh and blood of Jesus (Luke 22: 19, 20, etc.). *The Communion is the figure of a spiritual experience in which the Christian lays hold, through Jesus, upon the Redeeming God of the Bible.* This impressive and affecting ceremony is the sign of the bond between Jesus and his followers; and it stands broadly for "the Christian life." In that life, Christ is "formed" in the believer (Gal. 4:19); the disciple is "hidden" with Christ in the Redeeming God (Col. 3:3). All these figures come within the symbolic meaning of the Communion. The central ceremony practiced by the Christian church bears witness that Jesus makes the God of the Bible a reality for the world. It signifies the essential fact of Christian experience; but it does not explain how Jesus accomplishes this work. The fact, and the explanation of it, are two different things.

It is a mere, plain fact of history that the "middle wall of partition" was in some way broken down by the man Jesus, so that those who were "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel," those who were "far off," those who were "without God in the world"—all such were "made near" (Eph. 2:11–14).[1] This does not mean, however, that the work of Jesus was only for the gentile world. The New Testament, as a whole, does not picture his mission as limited to the gentiles.

[1] In this great passage it is noticeable that the author of Ephesians employs the symbol of the flesh and blood of Jesus (vss. 13 and 15), and expressly views him as building upon the foundation of "the prophets" (vs. 20). The author plainly has the "social group" category in view.

The gospel was not only to those that were "far off" (i.e., the gentiles), but to those who were "nigh," to the Jew first, and then to the Greek (Eph. 2:17; Rom. 1:16). According to the Book of Acts, God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation those that fear him and work righteousness are acceptable to him (Acts 10:34, 35). This long-range observation of Christianity prepares us to draw closer to the facts, and inquire how the middle wall of partition was broken down.

The missing factor in Jewish religion.—We have already pointed out that, in the eyes of the gentile world, the Old Testament religion was necessarily an abstract, unreal thing, devoid of life or meaning. The only consideration that prevented it from having the same character for the Jewish people was their "group-interests," i.e., their patriotism, and their race-pride as "God's elect." While Judaism has an immense potential value, its propagating impulse remains therefore an affair of nationality and race.

Theoretically, Judaism is a complete and perfect religion. It dramatizes God as the leading actor in the redemption of the world. Yet, at the conclusion of the Old Testament process, the redemptive idea of God is left suspended in the form of an abstraction. Every idea that moves the world at large has to be brought to a center, or condensed, in the life of an individual. The historian Froude has observed that "principles are identified with persons, who form as it were the focus on which the passions concentrate."[1] But in the nature of the situation, the process of Hebrew spiritual development could not attach itself to any one prophet. The work of the prophets was to rebuke injustice; their mighty contribution to the progress of the idea of God was incidental, or secondary. They expressed the character of God in "divers portions" and in "divers manners." No prophet, or school of

[1] Froude, *History of England* (New York, 1873), Vol. I, p. 196.

prophets, deserves to be credited with the full-orbed idea of the Redeeming God, which flames out on us from the Old Testament as a whole. The redemptive idea hangs in the air as a beautiful philosophy, to be learned in all its fulness only by the student who examines the Old Testament with more care than the vast majority of persons, either Jew or gentile, can afford to give.

How the religion of redemption was thrown open to the world through the ministry of Jesus.—Although we can never know the early life of Jesus, it must be assumed that the tradition is correct which represents him as a student of the Hebrew Bible. He was not necessarily a student in the scholastic, or academic, sense; nor could he have investigated the Old Testament in a scientific and historical spirit. But, more than anyone, he comprehended the Scripture in the light of its *moral and spiritual purpose.* The religious life of Jesus was not based on a coldly rational process; but moving on the sure ground of genius, he saw that the world would never be converted to the God of the Bible unless that God were made real and vivid in a new way. So Jesus did something that none of the prophets ever thought of doing. He made himself "one" with the Redeeming God of the Hebrews, working out in his own life the divine drama of salvation, and calling upon others to follow his example. "Logicians may reason about abstractions," writes the historian Macaulay, "but the great mass of men must have *images.*" That is to say, they unconsciously demand something that strikes upon their *imagination:*

> God, the uncreated, the incomprehensible, the invisible, attracted few worshipers. A philosopher might admire so noble a conception: but the crowd turned away in disgust from words which presented no *image* to their minds. It was before Deity embodied in a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the cross, that the prejudices of the Synagogue, the doubts of the

Academy, the pride of the Portico, the fasces of the Lictor, and the swords of thirty legions, were humbled in the dust.[1]

Where the great prophets expressed the divine character in divers ways, Jesus was the "image" of the Redeeming God (Heb. 1:1–3; cf. I Cor. 1:30; II Cor. 4:4). He was the embodiment, or "incarnation," of the God of the Bible. In him was condensed the entire process of spiritual evolution represented by the Old Testament. While men have differed about the "incarnation" as a matter of theology, or metaphysics, it has worked steadily onward in human history, whether it has been understood or not. Jesus did something new—something peculiar to himself. Before his time, the Bible idea of God was not a living reality in the world at large. Heathenism was practically supreme. The gentiles were ignorant of Bible religion; and that religion was kept alive among the Jews chiefly by the momentum of their "group-interests." We know, of course, that much genuine faith and piety existed among the Jews; but this faith was not calculated to be the rallying-point for a triumphant religious campaign throughout the earth. Modern people have a tendency to imagine that God seemed the same before the Christian era that he does now, and that the world "before Christ" looked the same as it looks now; but this is a mistake. For just as the world assumes a new character in the eyes of the lover; just as life appears different when viewed from the standpoint of some great success; in the same way, God and the world look different in Christian civilization than they did in *pre*-Christian times. The spiritual atmosphere of Christendom is created by Jesus.[2]

Christianity will always be hard for the rationalist to define because it is primarily "personal."—If we approach Christianity in search of some distinctive theology, or philosophy, we

[1] Macaulay, *Essay on Milton*, par. 38. Italics ours.

[2] The name "Jesus" is a Hellenized form of the Hebrew *Joshua*, meaning "Yahweh is salvation." This was a well-known Hebrew name.

miss its meaning as a fresh, original fact in social evolution. The difficulty of explaining it from the rational standpoint, as a collection of doctrines, has prompted the somewhat misleading statement that, after all, Christianity is not a doctrine but a "life." As a fact in the history of the world, it is neither a "life" nor a "doctrine": It is partnership with God, through Jesus, in the redemption of the world. It is Jesus making the God of the Bible a reality to mankind. Christianity, then, is first of all a "personal" experience; and it is hard to define just because it has this inner, subjective, psychological character. It means the projection into gentile society of the spiritual evolution that went on among the Hebrews. It means the appropriation of the Redeeming God of Israel by the non-Jewish world. Christianity, of course, has its doctrinal, theological aspect; but this is not Christianity as a dynamic fact of history. Sociology, therefore, is concerned with Christianity, not from the doctrinal point of view, but as a movement linking the history of Israel to the history of the world.

Jesus identified "knowledge of God" with doing the divine will.—In the New Testament, the word for "knowledge" is not used merely in the sense of rational, or intellectual, apprehension. It has also the Old Testament, prophetic sense of "conduct." The prophet Jeremiah, for instance, asks, "Did not thy father . . . . do *mishpat* and righteousness?—Was not this to know me? saith Yahweh" (Jer. 22:15–16). Jesus not only criticized conduct, as the prophets did; but he also went about "doing good" (Matt. 4:23; Acts 10:38). He emphasized the "doing" of good (Mark 3:4). He showed forth "good works" from God (John 10:32). So Paul agonizes to "do" good, and is only able to do it "through Jesus" (Rom. 7:15–25). And so the author of the First Epistle of John writes, "Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments" (I John 2:3).

Thus, the old Hebrew Bible and the New Testament ring true to the same fundamental theme. The more ancient Scripture says, "Let the wicked forsake his *way* [i.e., his *doings*], and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon" (Isa. 55:7). The central thought of this passage is taken up into the New Testament, and worked into the immortal parable of the Prodigal. The erring son goes into a far country and leads a bad life. But finally the wicked forsakes his evil doings and resolves to do better. So he returns to his father and is forgiven. There is no suggestion in the Bible religion that acceptance at the hands of God is conditioned upon some abstruse belief about matters that are unprovable in the nature of the case. Neither in the Old Testament nor the New is there any call made upon men to profess a theological system in order to find peace with God. On the contrary, in every nation, he that feareth him and *worketh* righteousness, is acceptable to him (Acts 10:35).[1]

[1] The interesting problem of the relation between the "man Jesus" and the official Christ of the church is one that falls within the scope of history proper. The conclusions drawn in the text are independent of the consideration that the official Christ may be in part the creation of Paul and other interpreters. Also, the discussion whether Jesus was or was not the Messiah predicted by the Old Testament has only a minor sociological interest. The empirical fact is, that the religion of the Bible spreads abroad in the world "through Jesus" in the form of "Christianity," and that it is propagated in no other way. Science reckons only with facts and relations between facts. From the practical standpoint, Jesus is the only "Messiah" that the world can ever know, because the work done by him, and in his name by his followers, cannot now be done by anybody else. Through the messianic idea, Jesus was connected with his own times and his own people; but his claim to be the Messiah does not rank with his claim to be "one" with God. The latter idea has been taken up instinctively by the New Testament writers and by the universal church, and stated as the doctrine of the incarnation; while messianism remains in the background of Christian thought. The emphasis of the church upon the doctrine of the incarnation testifies to the significance of Jesus as the factor about which the religion of the Bible takes a new start. The messianic idea stands for the local and the temporary in Jesus; while the incarnation idea stands for the universal and the timeless.

CHAPTER XXVI

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The Christian movement was not a campaign for "social reform" in the modern, scientific sense.—We have already seen that the Old Testament prophets were not socialists, and that the modern movements of radicalism can claim no sanction from the Hebrew Scriptures (*supra*, pp. 160–64). Precisely the same truth holds with reference to the New Testament. Scientific study of the Gospels, the Epistles and other parts of the New Testament brings out the affinity of Jesus and his followers with the Hebrew prophets, and shows that the Christian movement was not a campaign for social reform in the modern sense of the term. It is not as a revolutionary and radical movement that Christianity comes before the sociologist. It is perfectly true that Jesus and his followers labored in the *presence* of the social problem. So did the Hebrew prophets. This is clear to the sociological investigator of the problem. But it is equally clear that the New Testament has no "social" outlook in the scientific sense of the term. It is an appeal to the individual; and it proceeds upon the assumption that when all individuals do right, the world will be reformed. No other standpoint would have been possible in that age. Only in modern times, through much pain and labor, has it begun to be possible for men to learn that redemption is both subjective, or individual, and objective, or institutional. This insight was not open to the minds through which the religion of the Bible came into being; and it would have been of little use in ancient times. Christianity is not a program of political and economic reform, but an inspiration to personal and social righteousness.

Christianity attracted the lower classes at first more than the upper classes.—Christianity arose in the midst of a civilization in which the social problem was pressing hard for solution. All social classes, upper and lower, felt the need for salvation in one way or another. But in the Roman empire, as everywhere, the conditions of life pressed more heavily upon the humble classes than upon their masters; and the peculiar nature of Christianity was such as to attract the lower and middle classes at first in larger proportion than the upper class.

No straining of words, no figurative interpretation, can change the evidence of the Gospels in regard to the attitude of Jesus toward rich and poor (Luke 6:20, 24, 25; Luke 18:24, 25). He opposed the wealthy scribes and Pharisees in the spirit of Hebrew prophecy, declaring that they were the successors of those that slew the prophets (Matt. 23:13–38; Luke 20:46, 47). Our concern here is not with his "teaching about wealth," but with his attitude toward the upper and lower classes. His disciples were mostly humble folk. It appears that the "common people," or the "multitude," heard Jesus gladly (Mark 12:37). It is reported that certain of the Pharisees asked whether any of the "rulers" had believed on him, intimating at the same time that he was followed only by the multitude (John 7:48, 49). The chief priests and scribes and leading citizens were for a time held back from destroying him by fear of the "people" (Luke 19:47, 48; cf. Luke 20:19). While he found a few sympathizers among the well-to-do, the upper class on the whole was hostile to him. When Christianity began to spread abroad in the gentile world, as a consequence of Paul's preaching, the same class distribution is to be observed at *first*. Writing to his converts at the city of Corinth, Paul reminds them that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were to be found among them (I Cor. 1:26; 7:21). As McGiffert observes,

the Christian victims of the persecution under Nero must have been from the lowest classes, or the emperor would not have dared treat them as he did.[1] The Christian church at first, then, was "largely composed of slaves and low people."[2] In the early church, as Harnack writes, "the lower classes, slaves, freedmen, and laborers, very largely predominated. Celsus and Caecilius distinctly assert this, and the apologists admit the fact. Even the officials of the Christian church frequently belonged to the lowest class."[3]

But while Christianity began its history in the lower social strata, there is a noticeable change in the composition of the church, even during the New Testament period. This fact will occupy us in the following chapter.

[1] McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (New York, 1900), p. 629; cf. p. 267. Cf. Orr, *Early Progress of Christianity* (New York, 1899), chap. ii.

[2] Rainy, *The Ancient Catholic Church* (New York, 1902), p. 10.

[3] Harnack, *Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (London, 1908), Vol. II, pp. 33, 34. Cf. Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church* (London, 1904), p. 303. The question of the actual relation between Jesus and the upper classes of his day is here taken up without reference to what Jesus may or may not have said on the abstract subject of wealth. The evidence indicates a state of sharp tension between Jesus and the upper classes of his own times. We agree with the position taken in the following works on the relation of Jesus to the social classes: Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, (New York, 1902), pp. 136 f. and 170 f.; Cone, *Rich and Poor in the New Testament* (New York, 1902), *passim;* Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York, 1907), pp. 74–92. But we dissent from Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (New York, 1900), pp. 183–225.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Paul, the apostle to the gentiles, did not continue the emphasis upon class-relations between rich and poor.—When we leave the Gospels, and enter the Pauline Epistles, a change of atmosphere is at once evident. Paul was laboring to advance the religion of the Bible in the world at large, among all nationalities. In order to achieve this end, it was absolutely impossible for his ministry to take the same form as did the ministry of Jesus. This is clear. Jesus was the first person in human history to embody the idea of the Redeeming God of Israel in a human life. He was thus an example, or pattern, to be followed by others. In order to extend the religion of the Bible on the lines laid down by Jesus, it is necessary first of all to explain the person and work of Jesus—in short, to "preach Christ." Now, Paul, the apostle to the gentiles, was the first person to preach Christ to those who were "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel"; and, in his way, he was just as important to the spread of Bible religion as Jesus himself. Jesus, of course, did not have to preach in the way that Paul did. For while Jesus declared the gospel of God in his own life, Paul could preach that gospel only by first preaching Christ. Paul had to create enthusiasm for Jesus among the gentiles; he had to labor until Christ was "formed" in them. This is the fundamental ground of difference between the Gospels and the Epistles.

The contrast which thus emerges between the preaching of Paul and that of Jesus brings with it important consequences for the sociological study of the Bible: If Paul were to do his work among the gentiles, he could not go about opposing the rich and favoring the poor, as Jesus did. Paul's object was to create Christ in the hearts of men, and then let the spirit of

Jesus do its work. If Paul had raised the question of rich and poor in the way his Master did, he would have met the fate of Jesus; and the dissemination of the gospel would have come to an end. It is not likely that all these aspects of the situation were clearly present in the mind of Paul; but they are nevertheless the considerations that governed the spread of Bible religion. Paul acted in the line of least resistance; and his course was guided by the instinct of genius.

Paul interpreted the gospel as a message for all men, and the church as a home for all social classes.—Paul took the standpoint that a religion which proclaimed "the brotherhood of man" must open the door of the church to rich and poor alike. All who received Christ could come in, Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian, bond and free, male and female: all were one "body" in Christ (I Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). This doctrine had important consequences which Paul did not foresee.

As we have already observed, Christianity appealed at the start to the humbler social classes, rather than to the mighty. The apostolic church evidently drew a large part of its membership from the slaves and the poor freemen with which the Roman empire abounded. Various passages testify to the anxiety with which Paul and other New Testament writers endeavored to keep Christian slaves in order. In one place we read: "Slaves, be obedient unto them that according to the flesh are your lords, ... knowing that whatsoever good thing each one doeth, the same shall he receive again from the Lord, whether he be a slave or a freeman" (Eph. 6:5, 8).[1] In other

[1] The King James Bible uses the word "servant" for the term here given as "slave." On the other hand, as the scholars who produced the Revised Bible say in the "margin," the word which their seventeenth-century predecessors translated "servant" is more accurately rendered "bondservant." It is clear that the passage here quoted should commence with such a term in order to agree with its conclusion, which even the King James translators could not avoid rendering "bond or free." Allowance ought perhaps to be made in their favor, in view of the fact that the word "servant" carried a lower social implication in the seventeenth century than it does now; but there is no excuse for using their translation at the present time.

passages we read: "Slaves, obey in all things them that are your lords according to the flesh" (Col. 3:22). "Let as many as are slaves under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor" (I Tim. 6:1). "Exhort slaves to be in subjection to their own masters, and to be well pleasing in all things, not gainsaying, not purloining, but showing all good fidelity" (Titus 2:9). In the Epistle to Philemon, we see Paul sending a fugitive Christian slave back to his owner, saying that he thought the slave had wronged his master by running away. Another testimony to the presence of the poor in the early church is found in the anxiety for collections of money, to relieve them. Paul says that at the end of the famous "Jerusalem Conference," the apostles Peter, James, and John gave him the hand of fellowship, that Paul should go to the gentiles and they to the Jews, adding "only they would that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was also zealous to do" (Gal. 2:10). The collections taken were not to be used for the poor in general, outside the church, but for them that were of "the household of faith."

But while the church consisted at first mainly of poor freemen and slaves, it included a growing proportion of more fortunate people—wealthy slaveholders and landowners. The master Philemon, to whom Paul sent back the runaway slave, was a beloved fellow-worker in the gospel, and a member of a church that met in his own house. The little churches that met in private residences welcomed into their brotherhood persons like Philemon, who contributed from their wealth to the needs of the new religious movement. A number of passages in the New Testament bear witness to the increase of wealthy members in the church. Christian slaveholders, like Philemon, are spoken of when Christian slaves are exhorted not to despise "believing masters" (I Tim. 6:2). Christian masters are commanded to treat their slaves well (Eph. 6:9). In one passage we read: "Lords, render unto your slaves that

which is just and equal" (Col. 4:1). Thus it is clear that the upper classes began to join the church in growing numbers. Before the close of the first century, one of the writers of the New Testament thought it well to sound a note of warning against the favor shown by the church to the wealthy. His writing has come down to us under the title the *General Epistle of James;* and it was issued late in the century, perhaps about 90 A.D.[1] His words on the subject of social classes are as follows:

> My brethren, hold not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . . with respect of persons. For if there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in fine clothing, and there come in also a poor man in vile clothing; and ye have regard to him that weareth the fine clothing, and say, Sit thou here in a good place; and ye say to the poor man, stand thou there, or sit under my footstool; are ye not divided among yourselves, and become judges with evil thoughts? Hearken, my beloved brethren; did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him? But ye have dishonored the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment-seats? (Jas. 2:1–6).

But while the tendency thus indicated began to be noticed even in the first century, we learn from the writings of the church Fathers that even in the second century the church continued to be, in the main, a lower-class institution.[2] The apologetic, or defensive, Christian writers of the second century endeavored to attract the upper classes, who possessed wealth and culture.[3]

The third century marked the steadily decreasing influence of the lower class in church life, and a corresponding growth of aristocratic tendencies in the Christian fold. The rich increased their offerings, and began to leave property to the church by will. Gifts and legacies at first assumed the form

[1] Bacon, *Introduction to the New Testament* (New York, 1902), p. 165.

[2] Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1899), p. 52.

[3] Rainy, *The Ancient Catholic Church* (New York, 1902), p. 90.

of money and other kinds of movable wealth; but more and more the possessions of the church included property in land. Conditions in the third century are indicated by Gibbon as follows:

> Before the close of the third century, many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces.[1]

A new religious institution is thus growing up and changing its form as we follow it onward in history. An interesting evidence of the spread of Christianity through the upper class at the beginning of the fourth century is found in certain resolutions adopted by the "Synod of Elvira," which was held about the year 305. It was declared that the Christian *landlord* ought not to permit his pagan tenants to pay rents in flesh and vegetables if these things had been previously offered to idols; and that the Christian master ought not to permit pagan slaves to keep idols on his property.[2] In regard to the same period, Hallam writes:

> It was among the first effects of the conversion of [the emperor] Constantine to give not only a security but a legal sanction to the territorial acquisitions of the church. The edict of Milan, in 313, recognizes the actual estates of the ecclesiastical corporations. Another, published in 321, grants to all the subjects of the empire the power of bequeathing their property to the church. His own liberality and that of his successors set an example which did not want imitators.[3]

It is clear that between the time of Paul and the fourth century a mighty change took place in the institution which we call "the Christian church."—In the days of the apostle to the gentiles, the church consisted of small bodies of obscure

[1] Gibbon, *Decline of the Roman Empire* (New York, Harper, 1900), chap. xv, p. 134.

[2] Hefele, *History of the Church Councils* (Edinburgh, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 154, 424–26; Vol. II, pp. 186, 301, 306; Vol. III, p. 169.

[3] Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. Cf. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (New York, 1889), Vol. I, pp. 507–11, 536; Rainy, *The Ancient Catholic Church*, p. 278.

people, with no comprehensive organization throughout the empire, and no regularly appointed leaders. Christianity was a forbidden cult; while the recognized state-religion was pagan. But in the fourth century we find the church with wholly changed fortunes. It is now a state institution, rapidly driving out paganism. Its membership is drawn from upper and lower classes alike. It is divided sharply into laity and clergy. Its higher officers, holding great estates of landed and movable property in trust, are assimilated with the secular upper class. In short, the primitive groups of Christians were transformed into a powerful social machine—the Catholic church of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CATHOLICISM REJECTS THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The Catholic church responded to the same social forces that shaped the organization of the Jewish church.—In the fifth century, the priesthood was generally supported from church funds.[1] By the sheer social momentum which it had acquired, Christianity was now the religion of the multitude. Paganism was outlawed; and the new faith was no longer a matter of personal volition.[2] Ritualism gained an importance comparable to the weight of ceremonial practices under the old Mosaic Law.

> Side by side with the development of the organization of the Church [says Adeney] there went on the increasing elaboration of its rites and ceremonies. . . . . There was a growing approximation to pagan ritual in the ceremonials of the Church and the feelings of awe with which they were approached.[3]

Christianity, indeed, had slipped into the place of the old heathenism.

> The tide of easy-going converts swelled the churches [writes Rainy]. A man's Christianity passed unchallenged if, having once been baptized, perhaps in infancy, he maintained a negative goodness, joined with some attention to ordinances.[4]

Formal theology underwent a marked evolution; and Christianity became identified in the eyes of most people, not only with the observance of rites and ceremonies, but with acceptance of certain metaphysical *beliefs* about the person of Jesus, upon which neither Jesus nor Paul had insisted as a condition of salvation. All these things, then, grew up together—organization, ritualism, dogma, and wealth.

[1] Rainy, *op. cit.*, p. 514. [2] Rainy, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

[3] Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (New York, 1908), pp. 141, 142.

[4] Rainy, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

In terms of Old Testament evolution, the Catholic church became tinctured with "Amoritism."—Again we stand before the great paradox which has vexed religious thinkers for thousands of years. Sociology takes no sides. Being a purely scientific discipline, it observes the facts of social history in an impartial way. We have seen that social institutions are swayed by contrary forces. The movement known as Christianity originated in view of the social problem, and partly as a protest against that problem. Jesus emphasized the question of rich and poor in the same way that the earlier prophets did. But like the prophets, he attacked the social problem from the standpoint of individual sin, without putting forward a program of social readjustment. In Paul's campaign, the prophetic emphasis retired into the background; and in time the church came under control of the wealthy.

This disposition of ecclesiastical affairs brought evil tendencies with it, of course. But the result was inevitable, in view of the character of ancient society. The world in which the church arose was a pagan world, following many gods, and pursuing all kinds of superstition. Society was divided sharply into upper and lower classes. The superior class based itself upon property in human flesh and property in land. The church had no program for the adjustment of these relationships. Hence, it either had to die, or accommodate itself to ancient civilization. Although the church became paganized, it abolished the worship of many gods, and concentrated the minds of men upon the One God of the Bible. It spread abroad the idea of charity and brotherhood; and as the Roman empire declined, the Catholic church gathered up the elements of ancient civilization, and became the tutor of the barbarian races that founded the modern world.

Monasticism arose in protest against ecclesiastical worldliness, and then became institutionalized itself.—The accommodation of the church to society was resented by many Christians,

who retired into country places to live a "holy" life. These persons, however, could not resist the social impulse. They organized into groups of monks and nuns; and the church adopted monasticism as one branch of its work. The monks were of great assistance to the church in teaching the barbarians. They became a part of the upper social class; and the monastic societies acquired property in lands and serf-slaves.

The completion of the Bible was incidental to the development of the Catholic church.—We saw that the Old Testament was completed under the post-exilic Judaism. By a similar process, the New Testament was completed under Catholicism, and then added to the Hebrew Scriptures, thus producing the Christian Bible. It is impossible to date this process exactly; and the matter of chronology need not be discussed in the present connection. The first Christians emphasized, not the Bible, but the "religion of Christ." Christianity began to spread abroad in the world before the New Testament was written. It is difficult for the matter-of-fact modern mind to reproduce the ancient situation. The various "Epistles" and "Gospels" came into existence as the church developed. When Paul wrote his letters to the churches, the Gospels were not yet compiled. When the New Testament was at last completed, the Bible as a whole existed only in hand-written copies. There were no *printed* books. The manuscripts of the Bible were copied and multiplied only by great labor. Hence a Bible was very costly; and so the actual possession of the Scriptures was confined to a relatively few persons in the upper class. The Catholic church has often been denounced by Protestants for "holding the Bible from the people"; but historical conditions in ancient and mediaeval times make it clear that this judgment is largely unjust.

Catholicism, like Judaism before it, unconsciously rejected the social problem.—The foregoing study has made it evident that when Christianity assumed the institutional form, the resulting

organization could not continue the emphasis of Jesus upon the social problem of rich and poor. Catholicism, like Judaism, unconsciously rejected the social problem. The same principles apply in both cases. The Catholic church, like the Jewish church, became an aristocratic institution; and only in this form could it have passed over to the barbarians.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

Western civilization, like the classic and oriental civilizations, began on the level of nomadic barbarism.—The barbarians of Europe moved about in kinship groups under the rule of clan chiefs. As numbers increased, the various clans and tribes waged war in a deadly struggle to control the physical resources of the world. The effect of war upon social evolution was to bring competitive groups together into larger groups. When the curtain rose on the history of Europe, the barbarians consisted of numerous hostile communities, which were passing out of the stage of nomadism, and settling here and there upon the soil. These communities, like their predecessors in the great historic civilizations, were stratified into classes; the upper class being free, the lower being in bondage.

The barbarians resembled the ancient civilized peoples not only in their social machinery, but in religion as well. They emerged upon the field of history on a pagan basis. Their beliefs and practices resembled those of other heathen peoples. It is impressive to observe how human nature and human society obey the same forces in all parts of the world. Among the barbarians in the forests of Germany, as among the Romans, the Greeks, and the Semites, religion lay within the circle of thought and activity that made up the round of daily, secular life. Each clan, or social organization, had its own god or gods; and religion was a bond holding groups together.

Among the barbarians, Christianity spread from above downward; whereas, in the Roman empire, it spread from below upward.—From the sociological standpoint, the conversion of the barbarians to Christianity was precisely opposite to that of Roman civilization. The upper classes in France, England,

Germany, and other countries were converted by Catholic missionaries; and then the religion of the chiefs became the religion of all. The Roman church appealed to the barbarians as the heir of a great empire which had long held sway over the world. The new peoples of the West were not converted in the sense in which we now understand that word; and it is more exact to say that they were converted to the *church* rather than to Christianity. The conquest of barbarian paganism by the religion of the Bible was at first the displacement of *old* state-religions by a new state-religion. The God of the Bible, represented by the figure of Jesus (which had now acquired the "religious value" of God), was accepted by the new peoples of Europe almost on the basis of the paganism which they abandoned. The heathen gods were displaced by the Roman Catholic system, with God the Father at the head, and in connection with him the Son, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, and a host of saints. The new religion was accepted uncritically. The chiefs no doubt saw something better in it than in the old heathenism; and the masses professed it because their leaders did. In regard to the conversion of the Germans we read the following:

> Clovis was more than a conqueror, he was also a far-seeing statesman; no wiser political move was ever made than when, in 496 A.D., he determined to become a Christian. . . . . The conversion took place publicly and with dramatic effect. The king had registered a vow that, should he prove successful in the battle of Tolbiacum against the Allemani, he would yield to the entreaties of his Burgundian wife and accept her God. After the battle, with a number of his followers, he received baptism. . . . . Old heathen rites continued to be performed under the guise of Christian ceremonial; and saints' images, like idols, were carried round as a protection against fire, illness, and death. It was a change of name, but not of substance; Siegfried's dragon became the dragon of St. George, while the virtues of the old goddesses were transferred to the Virgin Mary.[1]

[1] Henderson, *History of Germany* (New York, 1908), pp. 14. 15.

The conversion of the early English people took place under practically the same social conditions:

Eadwine promised to become Christian if he returned successful from Wessex; and the wise men of Northumbria gathered to deliberate on the new faith to which he bowed. To finer minds, its charm lay then as now in the light it threw on the darkness which encompassed men's lives. . . . . Coarser argument told on the crowd. "None of your people, Eadwine, have worshiped the gods more busily than I," said Coifi, the priest, "yet there are many more favored and more fortunate. Were these gods good for anything they would help their worshipers." Then leaping on horseback, he hurled his spear into the sacred temple at Godmanham, and with the rest of the Witan embraced the religion of the king. But the faith of Woden and Thunder was not to fall without a struggle. . . . . Mercia, which had as yet owned the supremacy of Northumbria, sprang into a sudden greatness as the champion of the heathen gods. Its King, Penda, saw in the rally of the old religion a chance of winning back his people's freedom and giving it the lead among the tribes around it. . . . . In 655 he met Oswiu in the field of Winwed by Leeds. . . . . Victory at last declared for the faith of Christ. Penda himself fell on the field. The river over which the Mercians fled was swollen with a great rain; it swept away the fragments of the heathen host, and the cause of the older gods was lost forever.[1]

These examples of the spread of Bible religion in Europe could be multiplied indefinitely. Another passage relating to England is of profit in this connection:

The first missionaries to the Englishmen, strangers in a heathen land, attached themselves necessarily to the courts of the kings, who were their earliest converts, and whose conversion was generally followed by that of their people. The English bishops were thus at first royal chaplains, and their diocese was naturally nothing but the kingdom. In this way realms which are all but forgotten are commemorated in the limits of existing sees. That of Rochester represented till of late an obscure kingdom of West Kent, and the frontier of the original kingdom of Mercia may be recovered by following the map of the ancient bishopric of Lichfield.[2]

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, Book I, chap. ii.

[2] Green, *op. cit.*, Book I, chap. ii.

CHAPTER XXX

CATHOLICISM AS EXTERNAL AUTHORITY

The authoritative organization of ancient and mediaeval society went along with an authoritative theology.—In view of the facts already considered, it is easy to see that under the Catholic church the religion of the Bible was interpreted as a matter of external *authority*. This religion was thought to have been handed down from heaven by the Deity, in a miraculous and purely supernatural way. The only form in which men could understand the Christian religion was that of an "establishment" ordained by God in the same way that kings issued their decrees. If some hardy inquirer had possessed the curiosity to ask a church Father, or a mediaeval churchman, *why* the law went forth from Israel and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, he would have encountered amazement that such a query should even be raised, and then he would have been crushed with the reply that the word of the Lord went forth from Israel just because God willed it so. But such questions were not raised. The human mind was docile; and people easily took things for granted.

The church conformed itself to the principle of external authority when it made terms with the upper class. Theology went hand in hand with sociology. It is not that there was any deliberate or conscious adjustment of theological doctrine to the social situation. The church did not say, "We have the principle of authority in social organization; and therefore we must have it in our theology." Matters never work out that way. The fact is that the principle of authority reigned over all departments of life; and so it found expression in theology without conscious effort on the part of anybody. From the conventional historical standpoint, the principle of

authority may of course be viewed as an inheritance from Judaism; for the religion of the Bible had been taught in this way by the Jewish church before the time of Christ (chap. xxii, p. 213). But under Judaism and Christianity alike, the dogma of theological authority has been supported and vitalized by the authoritative organization of *society*, in which the many have been subordinate to the few.

The greatest name in Christian theology, as thus viewed, is undoubtedly that of Augustine, a citizen of the Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries (354–430 A.D.). This theologian "submitted himself absolutely to the tradition of the Church," and "he established more securely in the West the ancient ecclesiastical tradition as *authority* and *law*."[1] He was the master of the Middle Ages in theology. "The history of piety and of dogmas in the West was so thoroughly dominated by Augustine from the beginning of the fifth century to the era of the Reformation, that we must take this whole time as forming one period."[2] Thus, the idea of religion as a matter of external authority continued to be the prevailing doctrine throughout the Middle Ages; and it survives in many minds up to the present time. According to this view, the religion of the Bible took its origin from a revelation external to the mind of man. The inspired mind was an instrument by which the Bible-idea of God came into the world; such a mind was a channel through which common folk received their instruction in religious matters. On this view, the men who wrote the Bible took the part of spirit mediums, acting as intermediaries between heaven and earth, transmitting messages from God to man. From the standpoint of this conception, there can be, of course, no problem of religion and hence no problem of the Bible. This theory con-

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma* (Boston, 1899), Vol. V, p. 5 (italics ours).

[2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 3. This does not exhaust the significance of Augustine as a thinker; but the other aspects of his work do not call for mention here.

templates the religion of the Bible as an ordinance promulgated by the Almighty; and it regards the Bible as dictated by God, and hence "infallible." A mantle of mystery was thrown around this entire subject all through the Middle Ages:

> During this vast period one type of exegesis is found throughout the Church. . . . . In the mediaeval period of the Church, as in the Talmudic period of the Synagogue, an orthodox theology, resting on tradition which was interpreted and backed by ecclesiastical authority, discountenanced or anathematized independent investigation of Scripture.[1]

The general position of the mediaeval church is well stated in the following words:

> As the sole legatee of the Roman Empire, the Church is the predominant power of the Middle Ages. Outside of the Church there can be no salvation and no science. The dogmas formulated by her represent the truth. Hence, the problem is no longer to *search* for it. The Church has no place for philosophy, if we mean by philosophy the pursuit of truth. From the mediaeval point of view, to philosophize means to explain the dogma, to deduce its consequences, and to demonstrate its truth. Hence, philosophy is identical with positive theology. . . . . The mediaeval Church is both church and school, the depositary of the means of salvation and the dispenser of profane instruction. As long as the people continued in a state of barbarism, the power which she exercised in this double capacity was beneficent, legitimate, and necessary.[2]

[1] Gilbert, *History of the Interpretation of the Bible* (New York, 1908), pp. 146, 179.

[2] Weber, *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1904), pp. 201, 202, 275.

CHAPTER XXXI

JUSTIFICATION BY WORKS

The mediaeval church was grounded on the doctrine of "justification by works."—The ruling tendency in religion during the Middle Ages can be deduced from the superior social position of the church. We have seen that the clergy were part of the upper class, and that the church machine was part of the state. The church was therefore a corporation enjoying "special privileges." It had an economic advantage, or hold, whereby it could impose various kinds of taxes on the people. It accumulated large landed estates, and was therefore a landlord. It owned serf-slaves, and exploited their labor. It operated the ecclesiastical courts, which presided over many matters now coming within the purview of secular law. It charged fees for divine service. Since Church and State were united, membership in the church was an element of citizenship, and was therefore *involuntary*. A man was answerable to the ecclesiastical powers in regard to many things; and he came within the jurisdiction of the church whether he wanted to or not.

In order to be justified in the sight of the church, a man must give the ecclesiastical authorities either labor, or money got by laboring. Otherwise he was not right with the church, and therefore not right with God. The church, represented by its priesthood, was the intermediary between man and God. From the *economic* standpoint, therefore, the position of the mediaeval church may be described as that of "justification by works." This definition of the church and religion during the Middle Ages accords with the superior economic and legal place of the church in society at that time. Although this formulation had no place in the official theology and would

have been denied by the clergy, it states the entire case from the economic point of view.

To give this definition of mediaeval religion is neither to decry nor to commend the church. All historians and sociological investigators admit that the church included possibilities of good and evil. The situation took its course as a matter of historic necessity. Wherever men have advanced from savagery into civilization, they have passed through a system of sharply defined upper and lower classes; and religion has been a factor in political and state life. Christianity had to be established in the world *through* existing social institutions; else it would have perished. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, the church was a great civilizing force. At the close of that epoch, however, the more progressive part of society was in religious revolt; and the protest against "justification by works" was one of the factors leading out from the Middle Ages into modern times.

In the concluding part of our study, we shall examine the Bible and its religion in the modern world.

PART V

THE BIBLE AND ITS RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD

FOREWORD TO PART V

In the closing division of the study, we examine the place of the Bible and its religion in the development of modern society. Once more the fact is emphasized that religious questions have had an intimate connection with secular history. The practical use of sociological Bible-study is indicated in this part of the investigation.

CHAPTER XXXII

PROTESTANTISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

There was at length a great social revolt against the mediaeval church.—The movement known as the "Reformation" can be treated as an incident in social and economic history. This is not to deny that Protestantism and the Reformation can be described in spiritual terms. We cannot understand history until human thoughts are viewed in relation to human life as a whole. Not long ago scholars were treating the Reformation as if it were chiefly a matter of ideas and opinion; and although recent investigators have corrected this mistake, the old idea survives in the popular mind, and appears in a great deal of current religious opinion. "Doubtless the social problem has waited longer than it ought for adequate formulation," writes Albion W. Small, "because many men have believed too implicitly with Plato that 'ideas make the world.' Such men have told the story of history as though it were a ghost-dance on a floor of clouds. They have tried to explain how spirits with indiscernible bodies have brought about the visible results. They would not admit that the facts of human association have been the work of flesh-and-blood men with their feet on the ground."[1] The older view of the Reformation went along with reluctance about admitting that men have bodies as well as minds, and that they live on bread as well as upon ideas. The new view of this great religious movement is part of the modern scientific interpretation of history as a whole. It does not claim that men are only physical creatures, nor that they live on bread alone; but it combats the notion that history is a "ghost-dance on a floor of clouds," and it

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 518.

tries to see material things in their true perspective as legitimate factors in human life.

From the sociological standpoint, the Reformation was the revolt of the lower classes against the older nobility. Going farther, and resolving it into terms of economics, the Reformation was a protest against the special privileges of the mediaeval Catholic church.[1] Religious questions were political and economic issues at that period because Church and State were united. Religion, as interpreted by Catholicism, was *expensive*. While the outlay of capital on the church had brought solid returns in mediaeval times, the investment yielded smaller and smaller interest as the centuries rolled on. There were mutterings of revolt in the Middle Ages. The storm had been long gathering when it came to a head at the opening of modern history, and burst with terrific violence. The more progressive part of western society shook off allegiance to the Catholic church and instituted the Protestant churches of Christendom. The head and center of the Reformation was in the rising *merchant and manufacturing classes*, which had been slowly differentiating throughout the Middle Ages; but these classes were aided by certain sections of the agricultural peasantry, on the one side, and on the other by certain kings and nobles who stood to profit by the dispossession of the church from its landed estates. In economic terms, the Reformation was a protest against expensive religion in favor of cheap religion. It opposed the doctrine of "justification by works," which cost labor and money; and it stood for the doctrine of "justification by faith," which cost nothing. The connection between Protestantism and the rise of commerce

[1] It should be observed that the mediaeval Catholic church is not to be identified with the modern Catholic church. There is, of course, a historical continuity between the two; and the "official" position of that church is about the same now as in the Middle Ages. But the facts here pointed out with reference to the Catholic church at the time of the Reformation are not peculiar to the church. They are facts of human nature as displayed in that particular situation.

and manufacture has been pointed out by Professor Thorold Rogers, of Oxford University, as follows:

It cannot be by accident that those parts of Europe which have been from time to time distinguished for manufacturing and commercial activity have also been . . . . hostile to the pretensions of the Church, and that they have, when possible, revolted from it. It was so in Toulouse, before the crusade of Simon de Montfort wasted the fairest part of France. It was so in Flanders and Holland, in the Baltic towns, in Scandinavia, and in the eastern parts of England. It was so in the most industrious and opulent parts of France in the sixteenth century. It was not indeed so in Italy. . . . . It was not in human nature that it should willingly quarrel with the process by which it became opulent, though in the end it paid dearly for its advantages. . . . . Nor again can it be by accident that those countries which have thrown off the yoke of the Roman see were and have been most distinguished for intellectual activity. The true literature of modern Europe is almost exclusively the work of those countries in which the Reformation was finally settled—of England, of Holland, of northern Germany.[1]

The beginnings of the Reformation movement in the Middle Ages.—The absorption of land by the church went steadily forward all over Europe during the Middle Ages. It had reached alarming proportions in England as early as the thirteenth century (1200–1300). A number of statutes were promulgated at that time to check the abuse. We quote from the statute of 1279. The terms of the law, even as rendered in modern language, will sound strange to the lay reader; but the general sense will be clear:

The king to his justices of the bench, Greeting. Where of late it was provided, that religious men should not enter into the fees of any without license and will of the chief lords, of whom such fees be holden immediately; and notwithstanding such religious men have since entered as well into their own fees, as into the fees of other men, appropriating and

[1] Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (New York), p. 360. This author began his professional life as a Church of England clergyman. Later he became a professor of economics in Oxford; and his pioneering researches in English economic history earned for him the dislike of the Tory classes, and prevented his re-election to the chair of political economy at Oxford.

buying them, and sometimes receiving them of the gift of others, whereby the services [i.e., national taxes and labor] that are due of such fees, and which at the beginning were provided for defence of the realm, are wrongfully withdrawn . . . . , we therefore, to the profit of our realm, intending to provide convenient remedy, by the advice of our prelates, earls, barons, and other our subjects, being of our council, have provided, established, and ordained, that no person, religious or other, whatsoever he be, presume to buy or sell, or under the color of gift or lease, or by reason of any other title, whatsoever it be, to receive of any man, or by any other craft or device to appropriate to himself any lands or tenements under pain of forfeiture of the same whereby such lands or tenements may any wise come into mortmain.[1]

The century following the passage of this famous law saw the birth and rise to eminence of John Wikliffe, who has been called the "Morning Star of the Reformation." Wikliffe was an English patriot, an author, and a priest of the Roman Catholic church. He had a reputation as one of the greatest scholars of his time. We introduce a passage from a book which he wrote in the fourteenth century. This quotation shows the economic views of a man who anticipated the Reformation by more than a century. We give some of his terms in more modern form:

Secular lordships, which clergymen have full falsely, against God's law, and spend them so wickedly, should be given wisely by the king and wise lords to poor gentlemen, who would justly govern the people, and maintain the land against enemies; and then might our land be stronger by many thousand men of arms than it is now, without any new cost of lords, or taxation of the poor commons, [and] be discharged of great heavy rent, and wicked customs brought up by covetous clergy, and of many taxes and extortions, by which they be now cruelly pillaged and robbed.[2]

It should be emphasized that the economic aspect of Wikliffe's doctrine was first and foremost in his preaching.

[1] Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* (New York, 1908), p. 71.

[2] Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wiklif* (Oxford, 1869–1871), Vol. III, pp. 216, 217.

The history going on around him was no ghost-dance on a floor of clouds. One of the most careful students of English conditions in the time of Wikliffe is George Macaulay Trevelyan, who writes that "his demand for disendowment [of the church] preceded his purely doctrinal heresies . . . . , while his attack on the whole organization and the most prominent doctrines of the Mediaeval Church is found in its fulness only in his *later* works."[1] The great Wikliffe was not alone in his heresy. There was a strong party at his back; and the nation was divided. At this period, indeed, Europe was beginning to glow with the heat that broke into flame at the Reformation. Over in Bohemia the heresy of Wikliffe was propagated by John Hus, who was burned at the stake.[2] Wikliffe himself started an association of poor preachers, who traveled about the country disseminating his views. The early stirrings of revolt against the established religious order came to be known as the "Lollard" movement. Taking its rise in the fourteenth century, it was a factor of importance more than a hundred years; and it was the beginning of English Protestantism and Puritanism in later centuries. We quote again from Rogers:

> English Lollardy was, like its direct descendant Puritanism, sour and opinionative, but it was also moral and thrifty. They who denounced the lazy and luxurious life of the monks, the worldliness and greed of the prelates, and the gross and shallow artifices of the popular religion, were pretty sure to inculcate parsimony and saving. By voluntarily and sturdily cutting themselves off from the circumstance of the old faith, they were certain, like the Quakers of more than two centuries later, to become comparatively wealthy. *They had nothing to spare for monk or priest.*[3]

[1] Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wikliffe* (London, 1899), p. 170 (italics ours). See also Rashall, in *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1909), Vol. XXI, p. 1127.

[2] Wratislaw, *John Hus* (London, 1882), p. 106.

[3] Rogers, *History of English Agriculture and Prices* (Oxford, 1882), Vol. IV, p. 72 (italics ours).

In the growth of Lollardy the Catholics were taken by surprise; but the ancient church had the advantage of long-established position, and it soon recovered itself and prepared to meet its foes. By Catholic influence, an act against heretical preaching was carried through Parliament in 1382. We reproduce a part of this act:

Forasmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil persons within the realm, going from county to county, and from town to town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the licence of our holy father the pope, or of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, do preach daily, not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places, where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of the Christian faith, and destruction of the laws, and of the estate of holy Church, to the great peril of the souls of the people, and of all the realm of England. . . . . It is ordained in this present parliament that the king's commissions be directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of our sovereign lord the king, or other sufficient persons after and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof to be made in the chancery from time to time, *to arrest all such preachers*, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, *and to hold them in arrest and strong prison*, till they will justify them according to the law and reason of holy Church.[1] . . . .

This law proved to be too mild. Lollardism continued to grow; and about twenty years later (1401), another statute, more drastic and awful, was promulgated by the English Parliament. After giving a recital of the situation in much the same words as those used in the previous act, the new law went on to provide against heretics the penalty of death by fire, "that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other [people], whereby no such wicked doctrine and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and fautors in the said realm and dominions against the catholic faith,

[1] Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* (New York, 1908), pp. 145, 146 (italics ours).

Christian law, and determination of the holy church, which God prohibit, be sustained or in any wise suffer."[1]

European civilization at the close of the Middle Ages reproduced the social problem of the ancient Hebrews.—The protest against Catholicism was of the same general nature as the ancient prophetic warfare against Baalism. We have already seen that the established religion of the pre-exilic Hebrews became identified with the despotic rule of an upper class which absorbed the landed property of Israel (Part III, chaps. x, xvii–xxiv). The Hebrew nation arose at the point of contact between Amorite city-states and Israelite clans from the wilderness. The extension of Amorite law over the primitive highland clans provoked a widespread religious and economic revolt. A legal and moral conflict was precipitated which came to a center about the subject of property in the soil.

A similar condition came to pass in Europe at the close of the mediaeval period. The kingdoms of Europe arose by the consolidation of nomadic social groups. At first, these groups (called "clans" or "tribes") had been organized on the same footing as the clans of Israel. Many of their ancient customs persisted with the force of law all the way up through the Middle Ages into the time of the Reformation; and these old customs were slowly crowded aside by the extension of *Roman* law throughout Europe. On this highly important subject, Lindsay writes:

> The universal testimony of contemporaries is that the gradual introduction of Roman law brought the greatest change, by placing a means of universal oppression in the hands of the over-lords. There is no need to suppose that the lawyers who introduced the new jurisprudence meant to use it to degrade and oppress the peasant class. A slight study of the *Weisthümer* shows how complicated and varied was this consuetudinary law which regulated the relations between peasant and over-lord. It was natural, when great estates grew to be principalities, whether lay or clerical, that the over-lords should seek for some principle of codification

[1] Adams and Stephens, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–71.

or reduction to uniformity. It had been the custom for centuries to attempt to simplify the ruder and involved German codes by bringing them into harmony with the principles of Roman law. . . . . But when the bewildering multiplicity of customary usages which had governed the relations of cultivators to over-lords was simplified according to the ideas of Roman law, the result was in the highest degree dangerous to the free peasantry of Germany. The conception of strict *individual proprietorship* tended to displace the indefinite conception of *communal proprietorship*, and the peasants could only appear in the guise of tenants on long leases, or serfs who might have some personal rights but no rights of property, or slaves who had no rights at all. *The new jurisprudence began by attacking the common lands, pastures, and forests.*[1]

The officials of the Roman Catholic church instinctively arrayed themselves on the side of the Roman law. Augustine and other great theologians of the early church had been trained in Roman jurisprudence; and as the social development of the European states approached the level of the ancient empire, it was but natural for the church, the heir of that empire, to assist in shaping the new European kingdoms on the old Roman model. Two legal writers of great weight speak as follows:

By the civil law . . . . is generally understood the civil or municipal law of the Roman empire, as comprised in the institute, the code, and the digest of the emperor Justinian [about 530 A.D.]. . . . . The body of Roman law, or *corpus juris civilis*, as published about the time of Justinian . . . . fell soon into neglect and oblivion [owing to the conquest of the empire by the barbarians]. . . . . About the year 1130 . . . . a copy of the digests was found at Amalfi, in Italy; which accident, *concurring with the policy of the Roman ecclesiastics*, suddenly gave new vogue and authority to the civil law, [and] introduced it into several nations.[2]

Roman law entered upon its new career in the West, radiating from Italy over the lands that lay north and west of her from the twelfth to

[1] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation* (New York, 1906), Vol. I, pp. 107, 108 (italics ours).

[2] Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (New York, 1890, Chase's ed.), pp. 46, 47.

the sixteenth century. Thereafter, Spain, France, Holland, and Germany became the chief propagators of the imperial law.[1]

This legal point, of course, does not exhaust the subject. It is merely one way of approach to a complex problem. Wherever we turn in Europe at the period of the Reformation, we encounter sociological and economic facts that remind us of our inquiry into the Hebrew social question; and the results of the two inquiries confirm each other. Everywhere, at the time of the Reformation, we discover that the high religious excitement was accompanied by external social conditions about whose nature and meaning there can be no mistake. The Reformation as a whole was a very complex movement, involving an objective, material problem and a corresponding inward, spiritual problem. And since these problems were bound up so closely, the Reformation cannot be truly described either in material or spiritual terms *alone*. In the centuries immediately following that period, there was no real historical scholarship; and the spiritual side of the great changes that issued in Protestantism was emphasized while the social aspect of the movement was overlooked. Until very recent times, indeed, the Reformation has been understood as little as the Bible itself. This error will be corrected as we learn that the collision between Protestantism and Catholicism was fundamentally of the same nature as the warfare between the Yahweh and Baal parties among the ancient Hebrews. "Things civil and things sacred were so inextricably mixed that it is quite impossible to speak of the Reformation as a purely religious movement."[2]

Martin Luther's personal experience of Bible religion brought Protestantism to a center about the doctrine of "Justification by Faith."—All social changes need a philosophy of some kind,

[1] Taylor, *The Science of Jurisprudence* (New York, 1908), p. 151, cf. p. 46. Cf. Adams, *Civilization During the Middle Ages* (New York, 1898), pp. 33 f.; Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (New York, 1901), p. 89.

[2] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation* (New York, 1906), Vol. I, p. 8.

which will give them a point of departure and shape their course. Otherwise they can be nothing more than blind struggles ending in anarchy. For a long time, the reaction of Europe against Roman ecclesiasticism was a blind protest against the claims of the church to an ever-increasing share of the world's wealth. Unless the world gave tribute to the church, the world could not be right with God. This, of course, was not a matter of theology; but it was the practical attitude of the church. In *practice*, the church defined a "heretic" as a man who would not pay his ecclesiastical bills. If he paid his bills, he might believe anything at all (not in theory, of course, but in practice); while, on the other hand, refusal to pay church bills was the one, infallible sign that a man's beliefs called for investigation. The church was like steel on the view that there was no redemption—no justification—no salvation—outside of its walls. The church view of redemption called for the payment of money by the worshiper; and this payment was the solid, material sign of adherence to the claims of the church. The conservatism of established ideas protected the church long after Europe had grown restless under the dominion of the priesthood. Ideas are like running water. They cut a channel in which they tend to flow. So long, therefore, as the minds of men were possessed by the idea that redemption could be had only within the walls of the Roman church, the protest against the economics of the church could be of little avail.

But the temporal, economic power of Catholicism was at last broken by Martin Luther, a German monk. Although the Reformation itself is to be described as both a spiritual and a material movement, Luther's *personal* experience can be interpreted only in spiritual terms. The changes that occurred in his brain had no conscious connection with economics. He labored under a profound sense of unworthiness and sinfulness; and he went through a long, bitter

struggle to find the "way" of redemption or salvation. He wanted to be saved; and he asked how he could be justified in the sight of God. When he began his quest, he believed that salvation was to be found *somewhere* within the walls of the Catholic church, as he had been taught from childhood. So he tried the different ways of justification provided by the church. But the outward ceremonies and rites brought him no inward peace; his heart was hungry and his soul was troubled. If he had been a mere layman, who had to pay the usual retail price for the exercises of religion, there might be some ground for putting an economic interpretation upon his experience. But Luther was himself a clerical person, a "religious" man in the technical, Roman sense; and he got his religion, so to speak, for nothing. Hence, in his case, we are in contact with an *idea*, pure and simple. The critical point in Luther's experience came *when he began to study the Bible*. It was an unusual and revolutionary thing at that time for a person of religious training to study the Bible. This ancient collection of writings came to Luther like a newly found world. His discovery of the Bible can be compared with the discovery of America by Columbus. A new spiritual continent rose before the vision of the German monk. In the Scriptures he found that redemption, or justification, is to be had, not through ceremonies and rites, but through faith in the God of the Bible as revealed in Jesus. If a man could thus come into personal touch with God, where was the need for a priesthood? Europe was unconsciously waiting for his message. "Its discontent was the sounding-board which made his words reverberate."[1] The spell that the papacy had thrown over the West was broken.

Bible-study was opposed by Catholicism, but promoted by Protestantism.—Martin Luther's use of the Bible suggests the

[1] Lindsay, *supra*, Vol. I, p. 113; Vol. II, p. 16. Cf. Preserved Smith, *Martin Luther* (Boston, 1911), pp. 8–13.

relation of the Scriptures to the Catholic and Protestant churches respectively. The idea of translating the Bible out of the ancient languages into a modern tongue was not original with Luther. It had occurred many years before to John Wikliffe, under whose leadership the Old and New Testaments had been put into fourteenth-century English. Wikliffe's Bibles, however, had to be toilsomely copied out by hand, for as yet the art of making books from type was unknown. But by Luther's time, the printer had come to the aid of the scholar; and the Bible became one of the "best sellers" known to the book trade of the modern world.

The attitude of the mediaeval church organization toward Scripture study was what might naturally be expected. Luther's ecclesiastical superior in the Roman church commanded him to abstain from reading the Bible; and the men who undertook to put the Bible into modern languages found themselves hindered and treated as criminals at every turn. William Tyndale, the first Englishman who translated and printed the Bible in his native tongue, was forced to leave the country when his plans were discovered; and the first printed English Bible was made in Germany.[1] Later, after the Reformation had been established in England by law, the Bible was translated and published by authorization of the King, who appointed it to be set up and read in churches. In all Protestant countries, none surpassed England in the interest with which the people received the Scriptures. This wonderful collection of writings now first began to come before the popular mind. The situation is well depicted by Green:

> The popularity of the Bible had been growing fast from the day when Bishop Bonner set up the first six copies in St. Paul's. Even then, we

[1] Pollard, *Records of the English Bible* (Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 3 ff. In justice to the Catholic authorities, it should be observed that Tyndale and other translators at the time of the Reformation did not content themselves with a simple rendering of the ancient text into modern tongues; but they embellished their margins with printed notes hostile to the Roman church.

are told, "many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them. . . . . One John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that goodly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a fresh young man and of a big stature; and great multitudes would resort thither to hear him, because he could read well and had an audible voice." But the "goodly exercise" of readers such as Porter was soon superseded by the continued recitation of both Old Testament and New in the public services of the Church; while the small Geneva Bibles carried the Scripture into every home, and wove it into the life of every English family.

Religion indeed was only one of the causes for this sudden popularity of the Bible. The book was equally important in its bearing on the intellectual development of the people. All the prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wyclif, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry save the little-known verse of Chaucer existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in churches. Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that gathered round the Bible in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on its words in the devotional exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature. Legend and annal, war song and psalm, State-roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of Evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic arguments, apocalyptic visions, all were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning.[1]

On its economic side, the Reformation took the course foreshadowed by events in the Middle Ages.—During the century preceding the Reformation, the peasantry all over Europe were in a state of restlessness which, in many localities, flamed out into revolt. The vast lower class, on which the upper and middle orders rested, knew but little about religion. An extensive inquiry was made into the religious condition of the people of northern Germany after the revolt from Catholicism. Luther's experience in the Saxon Visitation was typical. After his return he prepared a "Small Cathechism," in the introduction to which

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, Book VII, chap. i.

he said, "The common people know nothing at all of Christian doctrine, especially in the villages! and unfortunately many pastors are well-nigh unskilled and incapable of teaching; and although all are called Christians and partake of the Holy Sacrament, they know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments, but live like poor cattle and senseless swine, though, now that the gospel is come, they have learnt well enough how they may abuse their liberty."[1] It was found by Luther "that the only application of the new evangelical liberty made by many of the people was to refuse to pay all clerical dues." General conditions were no different in England.[2] The hostility of the merchant and manufacturing classes everywhere toward the Roman church was instinctive. "The trading classes of the towns," writes Green, "had been the first to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation."[3] And we find that "the religious reformation in every land of Europe," as Motley says, "derived a portion of its strength from the opportunity it afforded to potentates and great nobles for helping themselves to Church property."[4] The situation in England may be taken as a type of that in all countries where Protestantism became the established form of Christianity. The English Reformation began during the reign of Henry the Eighth (1509–1547). In his time the pressure for economic change became too great to be resisted any longer by the Roman church in England. The vast landed property of the church was transferred by act of Parliament into the hands of the King, who turned most of it over to the nobility. Green writes:

The bulk of these possessions were granted lavishly away to the nobles and courtiers about the King, and to a host of adventurers who "had become gospellers for the abbey lands." Something like a fifth of

[1] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, I, p. 409.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 406.

[3] Green, *op. cit.*, Book VI, chap. v.

[4] Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (Philadelphia, McKay), Vol. I, p. 272.

the actual land in the kingdom was in this way transferred from the holding of the Church to that of nobles and gentry. Not only were the older houses enriched, but a new aristocracy was erected from among the dependants of the Court. The Russells and the Cavendishes are familiar instances of families which rose from obscurity through the enormous grants of Church-land made to Henry's courtiers.[1]

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, Book VI, chap. i. Cf. Froude, *History of England* (New York, 1873), Vol. III, p. 359; Vol. VII, pp. 11, 40. Cf. "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. II, *The Reformation* (New York, 1904).

CHAPTER XXXIII

PROTESTANTISM AS EXTERNAL AUTHORITY

Protestantism, at the time of its legal establishment, was based upon the union of Church and State.—When the Protestants broke away from Catholicism, this great revolution was accomplished by law. The Protestant states, in their corporate capacity as "social groups," had to dispossess the Roman church of its property, and make the old forms of worship illegal. Furthermore, such principles as the toleration of different views, and the liberty of conscience, were unknown to the world at that time. So the Protestant states had to make legal provision for churches of their own. As a consequence, the churches of the Reformation slipped into the place of the banished Romanism. These considerations prepare us to see that Protestantism, at first, held the same position in the social body as did Catholicism, Judaism, and paganism. It was the religion of the state, or, as it is called in England, the "established" worship. Although the external forms and circumstances were different, the sociological meaning of Protestantism was everywhere the same. Church and State were everywhere united; and all the people of a state were compelled to support the local church. The historian Froude writes: "The Council of Geneva, the General Assembly at Edinburgh, the Smalcaldic League, the English Parliament, and the Spanish Inquisition held the same opinions on the wickedness of heresy; they differed only in the definition of the crime."[1]

The Protestant clergy, therefore, held a position as high as the Catholic priesthood; and in practice they made as lofty claims to respect as did the ministers of the Roman church.

[1] Froude, *History of England* (New York, 1873), Vol. III, p. 311.

They were appointed by officials whose authority was derived from the state; and they could be deprived of office by the same power. A good illustration is found in the famous Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, which were set forth by *national law* in the year 1562. Article 23 declares: "Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have *public authority* given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard."[1] John Calvin's view of the ministry was even higher than this, for in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* he laid down the principle that the clergy ought to rule all mankind within the terms of a theocracy. His autocratic tendencies were checked by the civil power;[2] but the prevailing union of Church and State made the church an engine of public authority.

Protestantism, like the Jewish and Catholic churches, viewed the religion of the Bible as ordained by external divine authority. —Since Protestantism at first occupied the same social position as the older forms of worship, it is easy to see how the Reformation churches necessarily started out by taking the ancient view of the Bible and its religion. "Orthodox" theology was demanded alike by the social and the mental constitution of early Protestantism. The idea of natural, evolutionary development of religious belief was unthinkable at that period of human history, and was unknown to the Protestant world for many generations.

It is a curious, but explainable, fact that the Reformation churches did not at once perceive the logic of their position with reference to the Bible. On the one hand, the whole Reformation movement was an economic movement, directed by the civil powers of the Protestant states; and these powers considered their authority to be inherent in themselves. On

[1] Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York, 1899), Vol. III, p. 501 (italics ours).

[2] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 111, 127, 128, 129.

the other hand, looking at the matter from the religious point of view, the Reformers did not think of themselves as really breaking with the church of God. They had been trained in Catholicism to regard the church institution *itself* as authoritative; and they unconsciously took this view over into their own ecclesiastical organizations, which they looked upon as the "true church." Hence, we encounter the paradox that the more spiritually minded of the Reformers, like Martin Luther, treated the Bible with more freedom than the rationalistic Reformers of Calvin's type. Although Luther held the Bible to be in a general way "the Word of God," he emphasized the believer's personal experience of God through Christ, and considered himself at liberty to choose and criticize among the sacred books with considerable freedom.[1] The Lutheran tendency, however, was gradually counteracted by the influence of Calvinism, which made itself more and more felt among the Protestant churches of all countries, even in Germany. Calvin's type of thought was rationalistic, systematic, and legalistic; and it corresponded more harmoniously than Lutheranism with the existing social constitution of the world. Monarchy was the order of the day; and Calvin pictured God as an Absolute Ruler, whose sovereignty was more despotic and awful than that of the most potent human king or emperor. Setting out from a few principles, Calvin deduced a logical and orderly system of divinity; and his formulas had enormous influence in shaping Protestant theology. Although Calvin urged a lofty place for the ministry, he was careful to say that they should rule mankind "in the Word of God"—that is, in the Scriptures. He thought the words of the Bible should be received by men as if God himself uttered these words into the ear of the reader. "The exegesis of Calvin," as Gilbert says, "was fatally defective in that it subordinated Scripture to the dogmas of

[1] Preserved Smith, *Martin Luther* (Boston, 1911), pp. 263–70.

the church."[1] On the increasing dogmatism and appeal to external authority in Protestant theology, several writers make the following statements:

More and more, as the first generation of Protestant leaders recedes into the past, the theology of those who come after passes into the scholastic stage. . . . . The Bible was looked upon as an authoritative text-book, from which doctrines and proofs of doctrine were to be drawn with little or no discrimination as to the use to be made of the different sacred books. Such were the ramifications of the system that little if any space was left for varieties of opinion, and dissent upon any point was treated as a heresy. . . . . The impression often made was that of a divine absolutism enthroned in the souls of men as well as in the visible world of creatures.[2]

The Protestant Reformation was mediaeval, not modern, in its spirit and interest. . . . . Bondage to an external law of faith and practice was for a long time as complete in Protestantism as in Catholicism, and the one was as conservative in the field of religious thought as the other.

In their effort to guarantee the absolute infallibility of the Bible some of the theologians of the day were carried to the furthest possible lengths. The Bible is not in any sense a human book; it is the literal word of God in all its parts, having been dictated by the Holy Spirit to men acting only as amanuenses. Who the author of this or that book might be was of no consequence, and all questions as to date and circumstances of composition, or as to authenticity and integrity became unimportant and irrelevant. Not simply is the Bible as a whole, or the truths which it contains, from God, but every phrase, word, and letter, including even the vowel points of the Hebrew Massoretic text. It is infallible, not alone in the sphere of religion and morals, but in history, geography, geology, astronomy, and every other field upon which it touches.[3]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the structure of scriptural interpretation had become enormous. It seemed destined to hide forever the real character of our sacred literature and to obscure the great light which Christianity had brought into the world. The Church,

[1] Gilbert, *Interpretation of the Bible* (New York, 1908), p. 213; cf. pp. 218, 219, 233.

[2] Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1899), p. 347.

[3] McGiffert, *Protestant Thought Before Kant* (New York, 1911), pp. 186, 147.

Eastern and Western, Catholic and Protestant, was content to sit in its shadow, and the great divines of all branches of the Church reared every sort of fantastic buttress to strengthen or adorn it. It seemed to be founded for eternity.[1]

These tendencies and views prevailed wherever Protestantism established itself. In Europe, and in the new communities of America and the other colonial possessions, the Bible and its religion were taken to be the products of an absolute and infallible verbal inspiration. The ideas and laws by which Israel was distinguished from the surrounding heathenism were believed to have been put into human history amid the smoke, flame, and thunder of Sinai. There was no more disposition to doubt the older theory than there was to question whether one and one made two. The authoritative conception monopolized the field. The Bible and its religion were practically regarded as the outcome of a spiritistic séance on a grand scale, in which God imparted messages through the medium of certain Hebrews, and authenticated these communications by a display of supernatural marvels.[2] This theory was held by the Lutheran pastor, the English rector, the preacher in the Scotch kirk, the Methodist elder, the Congregational minister, and all other Protestant clergymen and laymen. Moreover, it was professed by the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, and by the Jewish synagogues. It took its rise in the ancient world, on the basis of habits of thought common to the Jews and their heathen contemporaries. It was held by the biblical authors themselves (who wrote after the event); its reign was undisputed in the Middle Ages of Christendom; and it has, in fact, largely prevailed throughout modern history. It ruled, of course, in the sixteenth century, at the time of the Reformation (1500–1600); and the same can

[1] White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York, 1896), Vol. II, p. 311.

[2] Exception has been taken to the "séance" figure as a caricature of orthodoxy; but it certainly represents the older view.

fairly be said of the seventeenth century (1600–1700), despite the critical work of such men as Spinoza and Simon. In harmony with the spirit of orthodox Protestantism, the seventeenth century saw the production of what is even yet the most popular of all English renderings of the Bible, a translation "authorized" by a monarchical British government. The King James Version was thus published by "authority," and "appointed to be read in churches."[1]

[1] Among those who prefer this version of the Bible, few can tell who "authorized" it, or why it was published. The reader is duly impressed by its "authority," and in most cases no doubt imagines the authority to be something mysterious and peculiar to itself. By the same token, the partisan of the King James Bible is opposed to modern "revised" versions, and usually overlooks the fact that the King James Bible describes itself on the title-page as "diligently compared with former translations," and "*revised*."

CHAPTER XXXIV

PROTESTANTISM REJECTS THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Orthodox Protestantism reproduced the attitude of the Jewish and Catholic churches toward the social problem.—We have seen that Judaism and Catholicism took form in periods of great social tension, and that they endeavored to save the world by a legalistic redemption of the individual. In this way, they tacitly denied the existence of a social problem, and prepared for their own loss of influence. It now becomes our duty to observe that the evolution of Protestantism went forward in obedience to the same law of history.

Aided by the opening of new land in America, the reorganization of European society which took place at the time of the Reformation practically solved the social problem of that age. But as modern history took its course, and century followed century, the problem of social adjustment began once more to press for solution. The emergence of the modern social problem is indicated by various events. Notable among these are the English commonwealth of the seventeenth century, the French and American Revolutions in the eighteenth century, the European uprisings in the mid-nineteenth century, and the progress of socialism down to the present hour.

Along with the profound social changes indicated by these important historical facts, the Protestant churches went through an evolution identical with that which took place in the Jewish and Catholic churches. We saw that these older ecclesiastical institutions became identified with the upper social class; and the same situation is illustrated by the new churches that arose out of the Reformation. Although Protestantism derived its propelling motives from the discontent of all classes with Romanism, the actual break with

Rome was engineered by the ruling authorities in the various Protestant states; and this means that the churches of the Reformation were instituted, not by the "people" in the democratic sense, but by the upper classes. The logic of the origin of Protestantism went with it from the start. Being an upper-class institution, it soon began to alienate the lower and middle classes. A number of considerations worked together toward this result. The repudiation of papal authority, and the lack of entire harmony among the Protestant sects, were the signs of a new independence of thought. Among the educated classes, this led toward agnosticism and atheism, which were decidedly new phenomena, for until modern times all classes of people, Christian and pagan, had agreed that there were gods of some sort. On the other hand, the lower social class, troubled by the pressure of poverty, fell into indifference. The tendency of Protestantism, therefore, was to confine the *organized* life of religion within the upper classes which had established the Reformation; and while the vast lower class was drifting slowly away, the new churches moved steadily into a dogmatic legalism which reproduced the spirit of the Jewish and Catholic churches.

Protestant legalism came to a center about the doctrine of the person of Jesus.—The churches of the Reformation declared, with increasing emphasis, that salvation depended upon the acceptance of certain *doctrines* about the person and work of Jesus. The Old Testament was interpreted as a huge "type," or "figure," of Christ; and it was resorted to as an arsenal of proof-texts in a way which drove all vitality out of that most interesting and vivid collection of documents. Building up mainly from Paul's utterances about Jesus, Protestantism constructed a metaphysical Christianity which took the form of pure legalism. God was viewed as the Chief Justice of a Supreme Court in which redemption was purchased by a mysterious potency residing in the work of Christ. The

believer availed himself of the redemptive merits of Christ by accepting Jesus in a metaphysical, divine character as the Savior. This, of course, was not the teaching of Jesus himself, who, in the parable of the Prodigal, and the Sermon on the Mount, had little or nothing in common with orthodox Protestantism. But the Reformation churches, held fast in the grip of social forces which they did not understand, lost sight of the Bible itself amid a rank upgrowth of doctrines *about* the Bible. The parallel between scholasticism in the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churches was thus complete.[1]

Orthodox Protestantism resolved salvation into a purely individual process. According to this view, the world's troubles were to be cured by the reformation of individual sinners. If the individual was redeemed, then the world at large could be rescued by spiritual arithmetic, through the simple addition of one soul after another to the mass of the redeemed. Whether or not one agrees with legalistic Protestantism upon the exact "method" of saving the individual, it would be manifest folly to deny the abstract proposition that sinners need to be saved, and that bad people should be reformed. In emphasizing this fact, Protestantism occupies an impregnable position. But this is also the claim of the Jewish and Catholic churches. These other ecclesiastical bodies agree with orthodox Protestantism that we need better men and women. The only difference between them lies in their conception of the legal process of redemption. But the process in each case is purely a matter of individual salvation; and hence, from the sociological standpoint, all three churches are in the same category.

The decline of orthodox Protestantism is due to its emphasis upon individual rescue as the only method of redemption.—Although the doctrine of personal salvation is profoundly

[1] For Protestant confessions of faith, see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York), Vol. III. In studying these creeds, it should be borne in mind that they took form in the upper social class, and were established by "authority."

true, it may be handled in such a way as to be false. To insist that individual redemption is the one, sovereign method of reform, is to claim in effect that there is no "social" problem, in the scientific sense, and is to ignore the fact that society, as an organized "group," may also be a sinner. In other words, orthodox Protestantism practically discounts the existence of social institutions, and sets up the doctrine that society is a crowd, like the grains of sand in a heap: reform each individual, and the world is saved. Protestantism has thus rejected the social problem as clearly as did its great historic predecessors, the Catholic and the Jewish churches.

Before considering the relation of sociological Bible-study to the modern world, it is necessary to discuss two further topics, the rise of scientific investigation of the Bible, and the modern separation of Church and State. Social development is a complex interweaving of many tendencies; and while we long to settle the problems of history by some brief and expeditious method, the actual course of social evolution demands the exercise of much patience.

CHAPTER XXXV

MODERN SCIENTIFIC BIBLE-STUDY

This chapter is not a history, but an estimate.—This chapter stands in its present position as an item in the general argument, and not as an essay on the development of scientific biblical scholarship. It is not a history of modern investigation of the Bible; it is a brief appraisal of the meaning and value of higher criticism in the pre-sociological stage. The significance of sociological Bible-study will be considered in the closing chapter. At present we shall speak only of the literary and historical forms of criticism as developed in the Wellhausen school, and accepted in the leading centers of academic learning.[1]

The general attitude of this book toward scientific Bible-study is made clear by the previous chapters. We have seen that the higher criticism is part of the intellectual awakening which leads from the Middle Ages into the modern world, and that the literary and historical forms of criticism are a necessary introduction to all scientific study of the Bible. We shall now look at scientific Bible-study, not as an academic matter, but as one of the influences in the complex development of modern life.

Scientific Bible-study has largely replaced the legal view of redemption by the moral view.—When we investigate the bearing of modern biblical scholarship on religious ideas, we are at once confronted by a problem which criticism has hardly touched, and which in fact lies outside of its domain. Leaving the mysteries of documentary analysis and historical recon-

[1] The facts in regard to the history of modern scientific Bible-study are on record in easily accessible form; and we have referred to them briefly in earlier portions of this work. (See Prefatory.)

struction behind, we pass over into the field of ethics or morality. The new scholarship clears away the legalistic idea of Bible religion, and brings the great moral problem before us. Scientific investigation has indeed swept aside the mass of legalism and supernaturalism that has obscured the Bible; and it has thus laid open the moral questions that underlie the history of Israel. Science has pointed to the prophets as the great, central figures in the development of Bible religion; it has demonstrated that the prophets were moral teachers; and it has pointed out that the work of Jesus builds up from the work of the prophets. Consequently, in the mind of the modern scholar, the legalistic interpretation of Christianity and the Bible has passed away, giving place to a more natural, understandable, and reasonable view. Modern scientific Bible-study, then, has not only an academic meaning; it has a practical value as well. It has shown that religion stands directly connected with great historical movements and every-day problems. Until this was accomplished, no further advance in the study of the Bible and its religion would have been possible.

Thus far, most men of critical scholarship, like men of "orthodox" training, have treated redemption from the standpoint of individualism.—The contemporary higher critic, whether he be a professor of divinity or an active pastor, has been through a struggle. He is conscious of the effort involved in departing from older views; and he feels that he has passed through an important change. The laity, however, can judge the higher critic only by what he says. It is impossible to preach the critical, scientific method in the pulpit, because the church is not a university. When standing before a church audience, a man of the "new school" may give only the *results* of critical study as applied to theology and religion.

We have guarded against misapprehension by pointing out the scientific meaning and value of modern critical scholarship.

From the standpoint of practical, or non-academic problems, however, the higher critics thus far occupy virtually the same ground as their conservative, orthodox predecessors and colleagues. For while the new school replaces the legal by the moral view of religion, it stands alongside the old school in treating redemption as an individual or personal matter. The new school has recovered the moral standpoint of Jesus and the prophets; but thus far, on the whole, it moves within the terms of individualism as a gospel sufficient for the salvation of the world. The new and the old schools have been parted by their intellectual perceptions, but not by any difference of practical emphasis. The old school, in spite of its legalism and supernaturalism, always viewed the moral regeneration of the individual as an *incident* of the redemptive process; and up to the present time, the new school with a few exceptions, has merely banished legalism from theology, and put moral regeneration to the front as the essential feature of redemption.

The struggle to establish the critical method has prevented the new school from realizing the incompleteness of its work. The scientific discovery of the moral character of the Bible and its religion does not have the finality that most critics have assumed. Although it throws light upon older problems regarding the nature and composition of the Bible, it brings to view another problem in which the Bible is linked up with the moving forces of all history. The conclusions to which we are now advancing will be indicated in the final chapter. But before turning to these conclusions, the general argument relates itself to another fact of large and epoch-making importance in social history. While this fact is a commonplace, its connection with the problem before us is not often discussed.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Modern society dissolves the ancient bonds between politics and religion.—Another sociological fact of large importance now claims our attention. We have seen that among all primitive and heathen peoples, religion and politics are intimately connected. Religion is a positive, legal bond, holding social groups together. Whoever does not worship the gods and practice the ceremonies of a given group is an alien to that group. It was under the dominance of this view of life, which we have called "the church-and-state régime," that all ancient civilization existed. When we pause to recall the immemorial connection between religious and political matters, the modern divorce of Church and State appears not only sudden, but almost miraculous. While the religion of the Bible came into being under the church-and-state system, and was entangled with that system for thousands of years, it now exists in the more progressive part of modern civilization without the support of external authority; and the principle of the separation of Church and State tends constantly to spread.

There are many good and sufficient reasons for this great social revolution; but we shall not inquire into them. The fact itself is before us. The "disestablishment" of religion is complete, for instance, in the United States, where the national constitution forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion. Although England has an "established" church, the legal recognition of "nonconformity," and the right of "dissenters" to vote, to sit in Parliament, and to be ministers of the Crown, completely neutralize the original principle of state-religion. The same result has been attained in other Christian countries, such as Germany and France,

by the passage of laws appropriate to the various localities. The general fact, then, comes before us that in modern society religion either is, or tends to be, no longer a direct political and economic issue. The separation of Church and State is now a commonplace; and there is difficulty in picturing the former condition of things to a modern audience. The modern layman reads the Bible with the impression that David, and Isaiah, and Jesus, and Paul acted and spoke and thought in an atmosphere of religious toleration, when, as a matter of history, the Bible can be interpreted only in view of the church-and-state system. Bearing sharply in mind the separation of religious and political issues, we turn to the modern social awakening as the final topic in our study.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE MODERN SOCIAL AWAKENING

The present age is marked by a new interest in the social problem.—The influences that we have been tracing in our study of modern religious history have now converged in the production of a crisis through which society is passing into a new epoch. The forces leading to the present crisis are indicated by the rise of scientific Bible-study, the separation of Church and State, and the great social awakening. The development of society is very complex; and the present age, like all others, is moved by the pressure of many forces. But an epoch always gets a distinctive character from the problems that crowd themselves into the center of its attention. In this way, the twentieth century is more and more becoming the age of the social problem. What is the practical bearing of sociological Bible-study upon the present crisis? Does this line of inquiry give results of any value in reference to the social problems now coming up for attention? A number of answers to this question disclose themselves.

Sociological study of the Bible promotes understanding of the social problem, and leads to a social habit of thought.—We all tend to ignore "society," and to discount its existence. We accept the fact of society like the air we breathe. It is an important condition of life; yet we commonly think as little about it as we do about the atmosphere. We think in terms of the individual persons with whom we come in contact. In forming judgments about the merits of any particular question, such as a labor strike, a dynamite outrage, or the rise in the cost of living, our first and chief impulse is to blame somebody. We find the "causes" of problems in the bad habits of certain people; and we undertake to solve problems

merely by reforming individuals. This tendency is called "individualism;" and it has so much truth in it that it will always be a factor in human thought. Nevertheless, when individualism is uncorrected by a wider vision of human problems, it leads to conclusions and results of limited value.

The world is now learning, through much labor and sorrow, that human problems are caused, not only by the bad will of individuals, but by defective social arrangements. Fundamentally, this is the meaning of the present "social" awakening. The fact of "society," as distinct from "the individual," is forcing itself into the field of human vision as never before. The "social consciousness" is rapidly growing into power. Sociological study of the Bible, through its appeal to commonplace interests in religion and economics, helps to give expression to the new social spirit. As the student "observes the evolution of political and social life in Bible times and sees the consequent evolution of moral and religious ideals, it becomes perfectly natural for him to employ in the attempt to understand the life of his own day and generation those very principles which have proved to be fruitful in the understanding of the Bible."[1] The study of the Bible, then, is no mere delving into the dust of antiquity; it is a matter of modern interest. When we follow out the development of Bible religion, we are studying the origin of ideas that live in the civilization around us. The religion of the Christian world is, to a large extent, a projection of the life of ancient Israel across the intervening ages into modern times.

Since individualism ignores the "social group," it has done little toward a real solution of the world's problems; and it is now going into partial eclipse. Representing an extreme tendency of the human mind, it is at length confronted by the opposite extreme. A new philosophy is now spreading rapidly among all classes. This new view of human problems

[1] *Biblical World* (Chicago), October, 1909, p. 222. Editorial.

discounts personality as much as the ancient individualism discounts the fact of society. The "socialist" is greatly concerned with "class-consciousness," the "class-war," etc. According to socialism, the individual bears the same relation to history that the drop of water bears to the ocean wave; he is not a causal factor in the world's experience, but only an atom borne along on the great cosmic flow of things. History is interpreted as "economic determinism." In brief, the socialist philosophy is in all respects the opposite of individualism, and has been well described as "Calvinism with God left out."

Individualism has been called the thesis whereof socialism is the opposite, or antithesis; while sociology, or the scientific interpretation of society, has been called the *synthesis* which will in time correct the errors of the two extremes.[1] Sociological study of the Bible will have a share in this needed corrective work.

Sociological study of the Bible suggests that the modern church cannot have a "social program."—The present social awakening of the church has been criticized for putting too great stress upon the public aspect of life, and neglecting the "individual." This protest is based on the standpoint of individualism. The chief peril in the present awakening, however, does not lie in overemphasis upon the public side of life, but in the tendency to compromise the church with programs of economic and political reform. If the church should lend itself to schemes of public reform, it would be forced, necessarily, to "go into politics." But since men have always differed about politics, those who were opposed to the program or scheme adopted by majority vote of their church could not support the ecclesiastical organization; and this would convert the church into a political party. There is no escape from this conclusion.

[1] Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society* (New York, 1894), p. 41, in substance.

Our chief guide here is found in the testimony of experience. History bears witness in favor of the separation of Church and State. Any proposal that seeks to commit the church to a program of social reform tends to bring back the troublous times when Church and State were connected, and religious questions were political issues.[1] We are called upon to take notice that all former awakenings to the social problem have taken place under the "church-and-state régime," and that the present social awakening is the first movement of the kind in all history, since it occurs in the *absence* of connection between religious and political institutions.

The present relation of the church to society is that of a generator of moral and spiritual energy.—The separation of Church and State brings into view the real function of the church in modern society. The church may be compared to an electric dynamo. The function of a dynamo is to convert "power" into a useful form. The church is a meeting-place where all may find the impulse to useful service, but where no party may seek indorsement for its own special program of reform. It is true that the church of the past has been identified more closely with the upper social classes than with the lower. But this has been unavoidable. It is an incident of the historic situation, whose adjustment may be safely remitted to the future (cf. p. 239, *supra*).

There is no doubt that the church has erred in its manner of presenting "individual regeneration" as the one, complete cure for the world's problems. By practically insisting that individual salvation is the final word in reform, the church has alienated many persons for whom a great moral principle

[1] This consideration has no reference to charitable or educational work, which of course may be safely undertaken by the church. Such work has been lately rechristened "social service"; but in most cases, the "social gospel" turns out to be the old individualism under a new name. The significant thing here is the attempt to conform to the spirit of the times by giving a new name to essentially old ideas. This is one of the characteristic signs of an age of transition.

has been made to appear like a mockery. But this mistake is not something peculiar to the church. It simply reflects the average opinion up to the present time. The church is composed of people, and can move no faster than the people move.

Sociological study of the Bible has a great spiritual meaning.—It is clear that this form of Bible-study has a great deal to do with what we call "materialistic" and "worldly" matters; it suggests many ideas which the modern reader has not been accustomed to connect with "religion." But it has a far deeper meaning. Only through a long struggle with materialistic social problems was Israel fitted to see God. The prophetic thought revolved endlessly around the criticism of personal conduct; and the repeated failure of the prophets to advance beyond the individualist conception of the social problem threw Israel's thinkers again and again back into the realm of the spirit, until at last they learned the lesson that all must learn: "Man shall not live by bread alone."

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL BIBLE-STUDY

In 1880 a book was published under the title *Early Hebrew Life: A Study in Sociology*. (London: Trübner & Co.) The author, John Fenton, is otherwise unknown to me. The book is dedicated to the German scholar Heinrich Ewald. The author is acquainted with the Hebrew language; he is familiar with the writings of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and other European biblical critics; and he has read the works of Spencer, Maine, Morgan, and other sociological writers of that period. The book is more significant for what it is, than for any positive results; and it is now almost unknown. The writer asserts the parallelism between Hebrew social evolution and that of other historic peoples; but he does not come within sight of the sociological problem of the Bible, for he does not perceive the composite nature of the Hebrew social group after the settlement in Canaan, nor the vital consequences involved in that fact. The book will always be well worth reading.

It is impossible to give a consecutive and logical dating to the rise of sociological Bible-study. Two books by Professor W. Robertson Smith, of Cambridge University, have been very influential in this direction. One of these, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, was published in 1885; the other, *The Religion of the Semites*, was delivered in lecture form about 1889, and published shortly after. These books are distinctly sociological, in the scientific sense; and they bring the Bible well within their field. Similar work was done by Professor Wellhausen, of Marburg, in his *Reste arabischen Heidentumes* (Berlin, 1887). In 1890 it was suggested by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, a sociological investigator, that the biblical higher critics were deficient from the standpoint of what he termed "institutional sociology."[1] In 1892 Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Harvard University, wrote: "Religion . . . . may be regarded as a branch of sociology, subject to all the laws that control general human progress."[2] The term "biblical sociology" was first used, apparently, by Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, in the *Biblical World* for January, 1895. Professor

[1] Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (London, 1893), p. 330.

[2] Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* (Boston, 1892), p. i.

Mathews defined sociology in general as the attempt to discover the laws underlying human association; and he has since been active in promoting social study of religion. In 1898 Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago Commons, also used the term, referring to "the demand for a distinct department of research and scientific formulation dealing with the social data of the Scriptures which ultimately is sure to create a biblical sociology" (*American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, p. 891). In 1899 Professor Frantz Buhl, of the University of Leipzig, issued a study of social institutions in Israel under the title *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten* (Berlin). This treatise breaks no new ground; but it is an interesting sign of the drift of biblical studies. In 1900 Professor Graham Taylor published an elaborate *Syllabus in Biblical Sociology* (Chicago). This treatise was intended mainly for the use of theological students, as an exhibit of what had been done up to that time. In 1901 Rev. Edward Day contributed to the "Semitic Series" (New York), a book entitled *The Social Life of the Hebrews*. In the same year (1901) Professor T. K. Cheyne, of Oxford University, writing in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* (col. 2057), noticed the entry of biblical criticism into a new phase, which is due among other influences to "comparative study of social customs." In 1902 Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, published a notable work, entitled *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious* (New York). This treatise cultivates the field marked out by Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith. It is written in view of the results of historical criticism and many of the results of modern sociology; and while it devotes considerable attention to biblical religion, its chief interest is in the general Semitic field. Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago, is preparing an exhaustive work on the social customs of the ancient Hebrews in the light of modern research into Semitic civilization.

In the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1902, the present writer has a paper which treats the connection of social development with Semitic religion and the Christian church. This paper is an advance study of a book issued in 1903, entitled *An Examination of Society* (Columbus, Ohio). A large part of that book is devoted to sociological study of material in the Old and New Testaments; and it foreshadows results later developed in more definite form. In 1905 the same writer published a book entitled *Egoism: A Study in the Social Premises of Religion* (Chicago), in which the sociological problem of the Bible was recognized more clearly. In 1907 the same writer contributed to the periodical mentioned above, two papers entitled, "Sociological

Significance of the Bible," and "Sociology and Theism." In the following year he contributed to the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago, April, 1908) a paper entitled, "Professor Orr and Higher Criticism," suggesting the sociological deficiency of the older interpretation of the Bible, and the promise of development in the newer school of criticism. In the same year (1908) he began a systematic series, in the sociological journal mentioned above, entitled "Biblical Sociology." The first of these papers appeared in the September issue for that year; and the seventh and concluding instalment was published in the issue for November, 1911.

In the meanwhile courses having a sociological bearing on the Old Testament were given at various institutions, as follows: Minnesota State University, by Professor Samuel G. Smith; Chicago Theological Seminary, by Professor Graham Taylor; Harvard University Divinity Summer School, by Professor Lewis B. Paton; Pacific Theological Seminary, by Professor William F. Badè; Newton Theological Institution, by Professor Winfred N. Donovan; Ohio State University, by Mr. Louis Wallis.

In 1910 Professor Samuel G. Smith, of Minnesota State University, published a book entitled, *Religion in the Making: A Study in Biblical Sociology* (New York). This book is a useful advertisement of the connection between sociology and the Bible; but it contains no statement of the implied problem, and advances no working hypothesis which throws light on the origin of distinctive Hebrew institutions.[1]

The book to which the present historical note is an appendix is a revision of the papers published in the *American Journal of Sociology* by the present writer.

BOOKS ON SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE BIBLE

A printed list has been prepared for the use of those who desire to know the titles of reliable books on the Bible from the modern scientific standpoint. This will be supplied on receipt of four cents in stamps.

[1] A review of Professor Smith's book was contributed to the *Biblical World* (Chicago), April, 1910, by the present writer. Professor Smith used the term "biblical sociology" in correspondence with me, before it appeared at the head of my series in the *American Journal of Sociology;* but at the time the series commenced, I supposed the term was original with me. Investigation shows, however, as indicated above, that this combination was used as far back as 1895 at least; and it now appears to have suggested itself to a number of writers independently.

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